The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, PARKER PILLSBURY, } Editors.

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MISS ANTHONY IN THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

The republicans appear to have a real Quaker Concern over the reception of Miss Anthony and her memorial for woman's right of suffrage, by the recent Democratic Convention. Many of their journals are snarly and snappish about it as cross puppies. In her innocence, she forgot to ask republican leave to go before the democrats to beg a boon which, when she asked of Congress, she was snubbed by pompous republican senators, in some instances, and in others virtually denied the sacred right of petition at all, by the manner in which the petitions were presented; keeping the fact that they were from women and for women, out of sight. Suppose, as the New York *Tribune* says, the memorial of Miss Anthony was received by the Convention with "derisive cheers," and "uproarious laughter;" it was respectfully received by the president, and handsomely read by the secretary; and if the audience cheered and laughed at the good points made against the republicans, that was no fault of Miss Anthony. Her points were well made and defended. No republican, editor or speaker, has attempted to deny one of them. To democratic ears, they were certainly cause for laughter. She was treated better there than by Congress that put the word *male* into the constitution; better than she would have been at Chicago by the republicans. The key-note of republican policy on the subject was sounded by Wendell Phillips in *his negro s hour doctrine*, and re-echoed by Horace Greeley in his Report on Woman's Suffrage to the New York Constitutional Convention, last year, and has been acted upon in several republican states since. Colored male as well as woman's suffrage seem likely to be lost as a consequence, and republicans and abolitionists must share the responsibility between them.

A New Depravity.—Of what are not the human race capable? Paris has unrolled a new scroll, "*child* mistresses!" A little girl of twelve, remarkable for musical skill and for personal beauty, is now kept by a titled debauchee at a house in Rue d'Acajou. It is published that at a late meeting of the Paris press it was in consideration to give the names of the villains to the world who are known to indulge in such horrible luxuries. But the majority thought that the government would shield them, because some of them are members of the Corps Legislatiff, and that the corrupt tribunals would condemn every journal bold enough to denounce these abominations.

It is in history, that a hundred years ago, gouty and debauched old seignieurs, were recommended to use warm baths of infants blood to restore their bleached and shrunken energies, and that the remedy was adopted. And yet the world wonders at, and curses to this day the Revolution which was precipitated by such enormities.

WOMAN'S WAGES.

The demand of "The Revolution" is, equal pay for woman for equal work, whether as tailors, teachers, household help, or the higher *callings*, as some callings are called, for some reason. If God the Creator, be "no respecter of persons," the created need not be of honorable and useful employments. The Western and Eastern journals are telling how liberal and progressive is the city of Chicago on the subject of Education. Comparatively, all may be true that is said, but here are some figures. Chicago employs about 400 teachers; there is a general superintendent with a salary of $4,000; the principal of the high school has $2,500; he has some 12 assistants at $2,000 for the men and $1,000 for the women; the heads of the district schools, men, have $2,000 salary; the women principals and chief assistants have $1,000, and other women assistants $450 for the first year, $550 for the second and $700 for the third.

The *men* may call this liberal; but if the women are competent teachers, they surely are most shabbily paid. Recently we saw in a large Massachusetts town two schools in one spacious building. On enquiry, we learned that the lower room was taught by a man, the upper by a woman, and that the salary of the former was nearly double that of the latter. We asked our friend which taught the best school, and he said "the woman, decidedly;" and which had the largest school, and his answer was again, "the woman, for we all get our children into her room who can, because she is so much the best teacher!" Probably there is not a town in the nation that does not furnish precisely such instances. And fathers and brothers generally are willing to see their daughters and sisters thus outraged from generation to generation. We are heartily tired of the words *liberality* and *magnanimity*, whenever spoken in connection with woman's work and wages.

P. P.

The Springfield *Republican* thinks the democratic President will only be the "figure head" of the party, if elected. How much more than that, pray, will Gen. Grant be, who confesses at the outset that he has no policy, and no will but the will of the people? To make his mark to the acts of Congress and take the salary is all the nation can yet promise itself from his administration, judged by his whole civil life up the present hour.

THE WAY THE INDIANS ARE FED.

Sergeant Haynes, of an Iowa cavalry regiment, lately testified before the Indian Peace Commission of the way he had seen rations issued to the savages. He said:

The Winnebago and Santee Indians were fed as follows at the Crow Creek Agency in 1864: A large vat was constructed of cotton-wood lumber, about six feet square and six feet deep, in connection with the steam saw-mill, with a pipe leading from the boiler into the vat. Into the vat was thrown beef, beef heads, entrails of the beeves, some beans, flour and pork. I think two barrels of flour were put into the vat each time, which was not oftener than once in twenty-four hours. This mass was then cooked by the steam from the boiler. It was dipped out to the Indians with a long-handled dipper made for the purpose. I cannot say the quantity given to each. It was about the consistency of very thin gruel. The Indians would pour off the thinner portion and eat that which settled at the bottom. I was often there when it was being issued, and it had a very offensive odor; it had the odor of the contents of the entrails of the beeves. I have seen the settlings of the vat after they were through issuing it to the Indians, and it smelt like carrion—like decomposed meat. Some of the Indians refused to eat it, saying they could not, it made them sick—that it was only fit for hogs, and that they were not hogs. The quantity of food issued them per day did not exceed eight ounces per head—man, woman and child.

WOMEN'S WORK AND WAGES.

It is to be regretted that the Working Men's Union do not more readily grasp the idea that all their efforts for self-extrication and elevation are vain, until the claims of the more oppressed working women are recognized. Woman has fought her way into every religious, political, social and educational advantage she enjoys, and must now contend for her industrial rights. It is a scandal on the name of manhood that such a truth must be told in this almost two thousandth year of Christian grace, and yet it is undeniably so.

The Worcester (Mass.) *Ægis* has some excellent remarks on this subject, such as these:

Large numbers of young women are now employed in trades, and at other occupations which require industry, application, and skill, who do not have *half* the pay that men receive for similar labor. Woman's sphere is limited; she cannot perform many kinds of labor by which men gain subsistence and competency. But whenever and wherever she can accomplish the same amount of work and do it as well, she should have an equal compensation.

There are many kinds of work for which she is better adapted than man, nay, which seem in the nature of things rather to belong to her, and in the performanc of which a man seems out of place. A man behind the counter, handling ribbons and laces isn't a sight calculated to increase our respect and admiration for the sterner sex. There is work enough for all, and special and peculiar work enough for either sex. And there is no just reason why women, because they are weak and not in the way to defend or secure their rights, should be oppressed, and so miserably compensated for their work, as they often are. We sometimes get glimpses behind the scenes and learn how some of the vast establishments of our great cities gain their enormous wealth.

The dazzling curtain is lifted and reveals a background dark with misery, and filled with pitiless wrong.

The iron hand of the avaricious oppressor presses hard on struggling want, till, too often, virtue itself is sacrificed to the almost imperative necessity that a fair and honorable compensation for labor should have averted. It is easy for gilded opulence, riding in its carriage, to sneer at gilded sin, walking on the sidewalk; but the hour is coming when that very sin is to be traced to imperious and frivolous demands of the devotees of Fashion, whose whole lives are a libel and a lie. Sin is oftener the result of seeming necessity than we dream. Remove the temptation which takes this form, the most specious in which it can approach, and you cleanse the world of much of its pollution. Alleviate the misery which is the vestibule to a life of sin; reward honest and struggling labor as it deserves, and the opportunity and the excuse for much of the vice that fills our larger cities, would be at once removed. Let woman have a fair, honorable recompense for her work.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

BY MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT—1790.

CHAPTER IV.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATE OF DEGRADATION TO WHICH WOMAN IS REDUCED BY VARIOUS CAUSES.

That woman is naturally weak, or degraded by a concurrence of circumstances is, I think, clear. But this position I shall simply contrast with a conclusion, which I have frequently heard fall from sensible men in favor of an aristocracy: that the mass of mankind cannot be anything, or the obsequious slaves, who patiently allow themselves to be penned up, would feel their own consequence and spurn their chains. Men, they further observe, submit everywhere to oppression, when they have only to lift up their heads to throw off the yoke; yet, instead of asserting their birthright, they quietly lick the dust, and say, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. Women, I argue from analogy, are degraded by the same propensity to enjoy the present moment; and, at last, despise the freedom which they have not sufficient virtue to struggle to attain. But I must be more explicit.

With respect to the culture of the heart, it is unanimously allowed that sex is out of the question; but the line of subordination in the mental powers is never to be passed over. Only "absolute in loveliness," the portion of rationality granted to woman is, indeed, very scanty; for, denying her genius and judgment, it is scarcely possible to divine what remains to characterize intellect.

The stamina of immortality, if I may be allowed the phrase, is the perfectibility of human reason; for, was man created perfect, or did a flood of knowledge break in upon him, when he arrived at maturity, that precluded error, I should doubt whether his existence would be continued after the dissolution of the body. But in the present state of things, every difficulty in morals, that escapes from human discussion, and equally baffles the investigation of profound thinking, and the lightning glance of genius, is an argument on which I build my belief of the immortality of the soul. Reason is, consequentially, the simple power of improvement; or, more properly speaking, of discerning the truth. Every individual is in this respect a world in itself. More or less may be conspicuous in one being than another; but the nature of reason must be the same in all, if it be an emanation of divinity, the tie that connects the creature with the Creator; for, can that soul be stamped with the heavenly image that is not perfected by the exercise of its own reason? Yet outwardly ornamented with elaborate care, and so adorned to delight man, "that with honor he may love,"* the soul of woman is not allowed to have this distinction, and man, ever placed between her and reason, she is always represented as only created to see through a gross medium, and to take things on trust. But, dismissing these fanciful theories, and considering woman as a whole, let it be what it will, instead of a part of man, the inquiry is, whether she has reason or not. If she has, which, for a moment, I will take for granted, she was not created merely to be the solace of man, and the sexual should not destroy the human character.

Into this error men have, probably, been led by viewing education in a false light; not considering it as the first step to form a being advancing gradually toward perfection;† but only as a preparation for life. On this sensual error, for I must call it so, has the false system of female manners been reared, which robs the whole sex of its dignity, and classes the brown and fair with the smiling flowers that only adorn the land. This has ever been the language of men, and the fear of departing from a supposed sexual character, has made even women of superior sense adopt the same sentiments. Thus understanding, strictly speaking, has been denied to woman; and instinct, sublimated into wit and cunning, for the purposes of life, has been substituted in its stead.

The power of generalizing ideas, of drawing comprehensive conclusions from individual observations, is the only acquirement for an immortal being that really deserves the name of knowledge. Merely to observe, without endeavoring to account for anything, may (in a very incomplete manner) serve as the common sense of life; but where is the store laid up that is to clothe the soul when it leaves the body?

This power has not only been denied to women, but writers have insisted that it is inconsistent, with a few exceptions, with their sexual character. Let men prove this, and I shall grant that woman only exists for man. I must, however, previously remark, that the power of generalizing ideas, to any great extent, is not very common amongst men or women. But this exercise is the true cultivation of the understanding; and everything conspires to render the cultivation of the understanding more difficult in the female than the male world.

I am naturally led by this assertion to the main subject of the present chapter, and shall now attempt to point out some of the causes that degrade the sex, and prevent women from generalizing their observations.

I shall not go back to the remote annals of antiquity to trace the history of woman; it is sufficient to allow, that she has always been either a slave or a despot, and to remark, that each of these situations equally retards the progress of reason. The grand source of female folly and vice has ever appeared to me to arise from narrowness of mind; and the very constitution of civil governments has put almost insuperable obstacles in the way to prevent the cultivation of the female understanding; yet virtue can be built on no other foundation! The same obstacles are thrown in the way of the rich, and the same consequences ensue.

Necessity has been proverbially termed the mother of invention; the aphorism may be extended to virtue. It is an acquirement, and an acquirement to which pleasure must be sacrificed; and who sacrifices pleasure when it is within the grasp, whose mind has not been opened and strengthened by adversity, or the pursuit of knowledge goaded on by necessity? Happy is it when people have the cares of life to struggle with; for these struggles prevent their becoming a prey to enervating vices, merely from idleness! But, if from their birth men and women are placed in a torrid zone, with the meridian sun of pleasure darting directly upon them, how can they sufficiently brace their minds to discharge the duties of life, or even to relish the affections that carry them out of themselves?

Pleasure is the business of a woman's life, according to the present modification of society, and while it continues to be so, little can be expected from such weak beings. Inheriting, in a lineal descent from the first fair defect in nature, the sovereignty of beauty, they have, to maintain their power, resigned their natural rights, which the exercise of reason might have procured them, and chosen rather to be short-lived queens than labor to attain the sober pleasures that arise from equality. Exalted by their inferiority (this sounds like a contradiction) they constantly demand homage as women, though experience should teach them that the men who pride themselves upon paying this arbitrary, insolent respect to the sex, with the most scrupulous exactness, are most inclined to tyrannize over, and despise the very weakness they cherish. Often do they repeat Mr. Hume's sentiments, when comparing the French and Athenian character, he alludes to women. "But what is more singular in this whimsical nation, say I to the Athenians, is, that a frolic of yours during the Saturnalia, when the slaves are served by their masters, is seriously continued by them through the whole year, and through the whole course of their lives; accompanied too with some circumstances which still further augment the absurdity and ridicule. Your sport only elevates for a few days those whom fortune has thrown down, and whom she too, in sport, may really elevate for ever above you. But this nation gravely exalts those whom nature has subjected to them and whose inferiority and infirmities are absolutely incurable. The women, though without virtue, are their masters and sovereigns."

Ah! why do women, I write with affectionate solicitude, condescend to receive a degree of attention and respect from strangers, different from that reciprocation of civility which the dictates of humanity and the politeness of civilization authorize between man and man? And why do they not discover, when "in the noon of beauty's power" that they are treated like queens only to be deluded by hollow respect, till they are led to resign, or not assume, their natural prerogatives? Confined then in cages, like the feathered race, they have nothing to do but to plume themselves, and stalk with mock-majesty from perch to perch. It is true, they are provided with food and raiment, for which they neither toil nor spin; but health, liberty, and virtue are given in exchange. But, where, amongst mankind has been found sufficient strength of mind to enable a being to resign these adventitious prerogatives; one who, rising with the calm dignity of reason above opinion, dared to be proud of the privileges inherent in man? and it is vain to expect it whilst hereditary power chokes the affections, and nips reason in the bud.

The passions of men have thus placed women on thrones; and, till mankind become more reasonable, it is to be feared that women will avail themselves of the power which they attain with the least exertion, and which is the most indisputable. They will smile, yes, they will smile, though told that—

> "In beauty's empire is no mean,
> And woman either slave or queen,
> Is quickly scorn'd when not ador'd."

But the adoration comes first, and the scorn is not anticipated.

Louis the XIVth, in particular, spread factitious manners, and caught, in a specious way, the whole nation in his toils; for establishing an artful chain of despotism, he made it the interest of the people at large individually to respect his station and support his power. And women, whom he flattered by a puerile attention to the whole sex, obtained in his reign that prince-like distinction so fatal to reason and virtue.

A king is always a king, and a woman always a woman:* his authority and her sex ever stand between them and rational converse. With a lover, I grant she should be so, and her sensibility will naturally lead her to endeavor to excite emotion, not to gratify her vanity but her heart. This I do not allow to be coquetry, it is the artless impulse of nature, I only exclaim against the sexual desire of conquest, when the heart is out of the question.

This desire is not confined to women; "I have endeavored," says Lord Chesterfield, "to gain the hearts of twenty women, whose persons I would not have given a fig for." The libertine who, in a gust of passion, takes advantage of unsuspecting tenderness, is a saint when compared with this cold-hearted rascal; for I like to use significant words. Yet only taught to please, women are always on the watch to please, and with true heroic ardor endeavor to gain hearts merely to resign, or spurn them, when the victory is decided and conspicuous.

I must descend to the minutiæ of the subject.

I lament that women are systematically degraded by receiving trivial attentions which men think it manly to pay the sex, when, in fact, they are insultingly supporting their own superiority. It is not condescension to bow to an inferior. So ludicrous, in fact, do these ceremonies appear to me, that I scarcely am able to govern my muscles when I see a man start with eager and serious solicitude to lift a handkerchief, or shut a door, when the *lady* could have done it herself had she only moved a pace or two.

A wild wish has just flown from my heart to my head, and I will not stifle it though it may excite a horse laugh. I do earnestly wish to see the distinction of sex confounded in society, unless where love animates the behaviour. For this distinction is, I am firmly persuaded, the foundation of the weakness of character ascribed to woman; is the cause why the understanding is neglected, whilst accomplishments are acquired with sedulous care: and the same cause accounts for their preferring the graceful before the heroic virtues.

Mankind, including every description, wish to be loved and respected for *something;* and the common herd will always take the nearest road to the completion of their wishes. The respect paid to wealth and beauty is the most certain and unequivocal; and of course, will always attract the vulgar eye of common minds. Abilities and virtues are absolutely necessary to raise men from the middle rank of life into notice; and the natural consequence is notorious, the middle rank contains most virtue and abilities. Men have thus, in one station, at least, an opportunity of exerting themselves with dig-

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* Vide Milton.

† This word is not strictly just, but I cannot find a better.

* And a wit always a wit, might be added; for the vain fooleries of wits and beauties to obtain attention and make conquests, are much upon a par.

nity, and of rising by the exertions which really improve a rational creature; but the whole female sex are, till their character is formed, in the same condition as the rich: for they are born, I now speak of a state of civilization, with certain sexual privileges, and whilst they are gratuitously granted them, few will ever think of works of supererogation, to obtain the esteem of a small number of superior people.

When do we hear of women, who are starting out of obscurity, boldly claim respect on account of their great abilities or daring virtues? Where are they to be found? "To be observed, to be attended to, to be taken notice of with sympathy, complacency, and approbation, are all the advantages which they seek." True! my male readers will probably exclaim; but let them, before they draw any conclusions, recollect, that this was not written originally as descriptive of women, but of the rich. In Dr. Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments, I have found a general character of people of rank and fortune, that in my opinion, might with the greatest propriety be applied to the female sex. I refer the sagacious reader to the whole comparison; but must be allowed to quote a passage to enforce an argument that I mean to insist on, as the one most conclusive against a sexual character. For if, excepting warriors, no great men of any denomination have ever appeared amongst the nobility, may it not be fairly inferred that their local situation swallowed up the man, and produced a character similar to that of women, who are *localized*, if I may be allowed the word, by the rank they are placed in, by *courtesy*? Women commonly called Ladies, are not to be contradicted in company, are not allowed to exert any manual strength; and from them negative virtues only are expected, when any virtues are expected, patience, docility, good-humor, and flexibility; virtues incompatible with any vigorous exertion of intellect. Besides, by living more with each other, and to being seldom absolutely alone, they are more under the influence of sentiments than passions. Solitude and reflection are necessary to give to wishes the force of passions, and enable the imagination to enlarge the object and make it the most desirable. The same may be said of the rich; they do not sufficiently deal in general ideas, collected by impassionate thinking, or calm investigation, to acquire that strength of character on which great resolves are built. But hear what an acute observer says of the great.

"Do the great seem insensible of the easy price at which they may acquire the public admiration? or do they seem to imagine, that to them, as to other men, it must be the purchase either of sweat or blood? By what important accomplishments is the young nobleman instructed to support the dignity of his rank, and to render himself worthy of that superiority over his fellow-citizens, to which the virtue of his ancestors had raised them? Is it by knowledge, by industry, by patience, by self-denial, or by virtue of any kind? As all his words, as all his motions are attended to, he learns an habitual regard for every circumstance of ordinary behavior, and studies to perform all those small duties with the most exact propriety. As he is conscious how much he is observed, and how much mankind are disposed to favor all his inclinations, he acts, upon the most indifferent occasions, with that freedom and elevation which the thought of this naturally inspires. His air, his manner, his deportment, all mark that elegant and graceful sense of his own superiority, which those who are born to an inferior station can hardly ever arrive at. These are the arts by which he proposes to make mankind more easily submit to his authority, and to govern their inclinations according to his own pleasure: and in this he is seldom disappointed. These arts, supported by rank and pre-eminence, are, upon ordinary occasions, sufficient to govern the world. Louis XIV., during the greater part of his reign, was regarded, not only in France, but over all Europe, as the most perfect model of a great prince. But what were the talents and virtues by which he acquired this great reputation? Was it by the scrupulous and inflexible justice of all his undertakings, by the immense dangers and difficulties with which they were attended, or by the unwearied and unrelenting application with which he pursued them? Was it by his extensive knowledge, by his exquisite judgment, or by his heroic valor? It was by none of these qualities. But he was, first of all, the most powerful prince in Europe, and consequently held the higest rank among kings; and then, says his historian, 'he surpassed all his courtiers in the gracefulness of his shape, and the majestic beauty of his features. The sound of his voice, noble and affecting, gained those hearts which his presence intimidated. He had a step and a deportment which could suit only him and his rank and which would have been ridiculous in any other person. The embarrassment which he occasioned to those who spoke to him flattered that secret satisfaction with which he felt his own superiority.' These frivolous accomplishments, supported by his rank, and, no doubt, too, by a degree of other talents and virtues, which seem, however, not to have been much above mediocrity, established this prince in the esteem of his own age, and have drawn even from posterity a good deal of respect for his memory. Compared with these, in his own times, and in his own presence, no other virtue, it seems, appeared to have any merit. Knowledge, industry, valor, and beneficence, trembling, were abashed, and lost all dignity before them."

Woman, also, thus "in herself complete," by possessing all these *frivolous* accomplishments, so changes the nature of things,

——"That what she wills to do or say
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best:
All higher knowledge *in her presence* falls
Degraded. Wisdom in discourse with her
Loses discountenanced, and like folly shows;
Authority and reason on her wait."

And all this is built on her loveliness!

(To be Continued.)

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS OF US.

From the Abbeville (South Carolina) Press.

We have received "The Revolution," a new paper, the 18th number, edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Parker Pillsbury; Susan B. Anthony, Proprietor; 18 pages, quarto form, $2 per annum, New York. The paper is edited with ability, and though devoted especially to the advocacy of woman's rights, contains much which would interest a general reader.

The notices of the southern press are very respectful, and our circulation is extending rapidly in the south and west. The following complimentary notice was sent us without telling whence it came:

"The Revolution."—This journal is the only true, live, and efficient exponent of this progressive age. Its platform of principles is deeper and broader than any existing party organization dare adopt. It is founded on truth and justice to all. It demands universal suffrage, first to intelligent white women, and then to ignorant black men. No one can read this journal without feeling that there is truth in its claims. Mrs. Stanton and Mr. Pillsbury, editors, Miss Anthony, proprietor. We had prepared copious extracts from some of Mrs. Stanton's "sharp points," but for want of room they must lie over. Weekly, $2 per annum.

From the Warrick (Ind.) Herald.

Threatened Revolution.—We have received a recent number of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton's weekly—not weakly—paper, published in New York, called "The Revolution." Aunt Lizzie is not a democrat, neither is she a republican, but she is strictly a "Woman's Righter," in the broadest sense, and no doubt expects to build up a great party on the ruins of both the former. She can't do it. Woman suffrage is an absurdity and an evil which, thanks to the common sense of both the thinking men and women of the country, will never become practical. Aunt Lizzie is a great scold. Her treatment of political parties reminds us of some mothers who go tearing and flying about the house frowning and fretting, first cuffing John and then Tom, now storming at Bets and then railing at Kate. Nevertheless, Aunt Lizzie pitches violently into some things that need violently pitching into. The practice of paying a woman only about one-fourth as much for a piece of work as a man, when she does it as well, is a burning shame and disgrace upon the men of this country. And the practice of excluding her from positions, on account of her sex, which she could fill as well as men, is an outrage that should no longer be tolerated. But to invite her, with all her innocence, affection and virtue, to enter the dirty pool of politics is an insult to her better nature.

Political matters have been marked by fraud, cunning, dishonesty and hypocrisy ever since the world began to be governed by men down to the present time, and countries that have been ruled by women form no exception to the rule. There is no practical remedy for it, not even "Woman Suffrage." We must simply make choice of evils.

However, send $2.00 and get "The Revolution." It is well worth the money, notwithstanding its heresies.

It is due to our "better-half" to say that this notice of "The Revolution" meets her approbation.

Here is a perfect illustration of the benefit to the public of the united opinion of man and woman; and no doubt if Warrick had not consulted his wife his notice of us would either have been too complimentary or too denunciatory, leaving us in the one case puffed up with pride, and in the other sorrowing in the valley of humiliation. But now, as the result of this consultation, we have our due mead of praise, with a most unlovely family scene for a dark back-ground. It is evident that Warrick does not know that we belong to the Peace Society, and that we never interfere with John or Tom, except when John infringes on the rights of Tom, knowing that all just governments were formed to protect the weak against the strong. We never rail, or storm, or cuff, or frown, or fret, knowing that the domestic machinery runs more smoothly with the oil of patience and persuasion than with any of those violent manifestations. Woman's Suffrage an absurdity! Why, Warrick, you must have been taking a Rip Van Winkle nap! Do you not know what is going on in England, that it has been decided that all ratepayers, male and female, have a right to vote? Do you not know that women have already voted in our own green land—in Kansas, in Sturgis, Mich., in Schenectady, N. Y., and in Passaic, N. J. It is a practical thing to-day. Do you suppose, Warrick, that the moral world is to stand still from this time forward—that you look for no reform in our political affairs? We have been slowly improving through all the long past, and we shall go on to the perfect day when fraud, cunning, dishonesty and hypocrisy shall be no more; when our religion shall not be simply a matter of faith, but our life, our political and domestic economy.

From the North Vernon (Ind.) Plain Dealer.

"The Revolution."—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the great heroine of "Women's Rights," has placed a copy of her paper ("The Revolution") on our table. E. Cady Stanton clamors like the democracy did for "free speech," while advocating secession and the overthrow of the Constitution. E. Cady Stanton is in earnest, and refuses to be comforted until she is made President, and has the privilege of running the government with female "locomotion." From the tone of her emphatic productions, we should judge that ladies who want a post office had better apply soon.

We refuse to be comforted until we are crowned with all the rights, privileges and immunities of a citizen of the Republic. No, dear ladies, do not wait until we are President to apply for office, do that now. Take possession of all the fat offices you can get. Anything is better than sewing and teaching school for half pay.

From the DeKalb (Ind.) Democrat.

"The Revolution."—We have received a copy of a "Woman's Rights" paper having the above title. It is a lively paper, and comes out strongly against compelling women and girls performing men's work for children's pay. But what we consider the most objectionable part of all is, it favors the suffrage of women and negroes. This we cannot, and will not endorse, as it is not in accordance with our political sentiments. The number before us contains a variety of other matter, aside from negro suffrage. Although we do not exactly agree with the conclusions arrived at by the lady reasoners, yet we wish "The Revolution" success among their lady friends who entertain like opinions.

How is this, Mr. Democrat? We thought you believed with Jefferson that "all men are created equal." "Webster tells us a democrat is one who adheres to a government by the people, or favors the extension of the right of suffrage to all classes of men" (and women)!!!

From the N. H. (London Ridge) Household Messenger.

"The Revolution."—This new weekly advocates "Woman's Rights" with great vigor and ability, under the editorial charge of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Parker Pillsbury. It talks right out on subjects hitherto

tabooed by the periodical press, cutting right and left through anything in political or social life that it considers error. Saving its spirit of disorganizing present parties before the world is ready for better ones, we cordially recommend it to all readers. It is published at New York for $2.00 a year.

From the Hancock (Ohio) Courier.

"THE REVOLUTION."—We have received a copy of the above paper, and can heartily say that we like it for its course, and its lashings of the time-serving policy of the radical leaders. It is edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Parker Pillsbury, and advocates "Woman's Rights" in all things moral and virtuous; a right to discuss the affairs of the nation, and a voice in controlling the same. It is sharp, piquant, argumentative and just in setting forth the right of intelligent women to the ballot before ignorant negroes. It seeks to educate women in a manner to make them independent and truthful in themselves. Success to "THE REVOLUTION."

No, not exactly. We are willing to go into the kingdom with negroes; but we say, no more men at the ballot-box until we too are admitted. We have too much of the male element in government already, too much in our laws and constitutions.

From the Voice of the West.

"THE REVOLUTION."—It is conducted with spirit and ability, and makes a brave fight for women. We trust that all "Woman's Rights" in this world will be accorded her—and she will have none too many if she enjoys them all—and we believe she has a right to whatever will make her better, happier, or more useful here, or will aid her in securing a right to eternal life hereafter.

Well, here it is clearly implied that women have souls, and will live hereafter. This shows progress, for there was a time when this was doubted. A Chinese once asked a missionary "why he preached the gospel to women." "Why, to save their souls," was the reply. "Souls! women have no souls," said he. "Oh! yes," said the missionary, and tried to convince him of the fact. When the Chinaman saw that the missionary really believed such an absurdity, he laughed immoderately, peal after peal. At last, after taking breath, he said, "Well, I must run home and tell my wife she has got a soul, that we may sit down and laugh together." Now, let all our male readers run home and tell their wives they have a right to the ballot, and sit down and laugh together.

WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, June 30, 1868.

EDITORS "REVOLUTION": I enclose an article from the New York *Sun*, which seems to come within the range of discussion to which "THE REVOLUTION" is devoted.

I send it for your consideration, that your readers may have the benefit of a reply. I have always been in favor of opening up new employments to women, and the main question I suppose is, how far this is practicable and desirable.

Respectfully, etc., WM. LAWRENCE.

WHY WOMEN DO NOT SUCCEED.—That clever and kindly Old Bachelor, who discusses social questions with such genial wisdom in the pages of *Harper's Bazar*, tells the following story to illustrate the reason why women do not usually prosper so well as men in some of the professions for which they would seem to be quite as well adapted:

It seemed to me that women might especially succeed as wood engravers, so I went to one of the most experienced and successful engravers in the city and consulted with him.

"Don't you see the difficulty?" he asked, with great kindness and interest.

"No!" said I, "you must instruct me."

"Well," answered he, "I have employed women here very often, and I wish I could feel more encouraged, but the truth is, that when a young man comes to me and begins his work he feels that it is life's business, he has cut his future out of the little blocks before him. Wife, family, home, happiness, are all to be carved by his hand, and he settles steadily and earnestly to his labor, determined to master it, and with every incitement spurring him on. He cannot marry until he knows his trade. It is exactly the other way with the girl. She may be as poor as the youth, and as wholly dependent upon her labor for her living. But she feels that she will probably be married by-and-by, and then she must give up wood engraving. So she goes on listlessly; she has no ambition to excel; she does not feel that her happiness depends upon it. She will marry, and then her husband's wages will support her. She may not say so," said the engraver, "but she thinks so and it spoils her work."

The same is true with regard to many employments in, which women have been engaged. We know that as clerks at Washington they are far less useful than man. Their habits of work are much less accurate, and they do not give their minds to their duties with the same conscientiousness and fidelity. The reason is the same as that given by our Old Bachelor. They do not feel that these duties are the business of their life, and that their whole success or failure depends upon the manner in which they are performed. Whatever they do, love, matrimony, and the care of a house of their own, are always at the bottom of their thoughts.—*N. Y. Sun.*

That is exactly what we propose to remedy. By educating every girl to the virtue and dignity of self-support, she will concentrate her forces and talents on some trade or profession. What Rosa Bonheur, Harriet Hosmer, Anna Dickinson, and Maria Mitchell have done, in spite of conventionalisms, in the face of public sentiment, many more women will do when everything is done for their encouragement in these directions. It is cruel to educate girls to depend on men for support, when the majority sooner or later in life are thrown on themselves. If every woman was sure of a strong right arm on which to lean until she was safe the other side of Jordan that would do, but such is not the case. The whole question is this: Inasmuch as the majority of women support themselves, shall they be educated to that end; shall they enter the profitable employments and be fairly paid for their work?

CHICAGO, June 10th, 1868.

EDITORS "REVOLUTION": I observe in your excellent paper of the 4th inst. an article entitled "Judge Gary of Illinois," which does that learned, humane and benevolent gentleman great injustice. It asserts that he has decided that "wife-whipping is no ground for divorce." This is a mistake. Judge Gary is the Chief-Justice of the Superior Court of Chicago, and as such has nothing to do with *Chancery Causes*. Judge Jamison, one of the associate justices of said court, is the Chancellor, and tries all Chancery suits. Hence, if any decision has been made in that court in reference to "wife-whipping," etc., it must have been by Judge Jamison. I have the statement of Judge Gary himself, that he never made any such decison. Our statute provides, that "Extreme and repeated cruelty," shall be just cause for divorce. Judges do not make the laws; they are sworn to administer them as they find them in the statute, and under our statute, if a man should strike his wife once with a whip in a fit of passion, it would not be a cause for divorce, and a just judge would be bound so to decide. The cruelty must be *repeated*. There are cases, doubtless, where the husband, in the main and almost without exception, has all his life been kind and tender to his wife—and yet, under some aggravating influences, in the heat of passion, in an unguarded moment, may have struck her. Such an act is criminal and cowardly, without just excuse, and yet, who shall say that it would be wise in the Legislature to make *that* a cause for divorce? I can assure your readers that any woman who is a party litigant in Judge Gary's court will have all her rights carefully protected by that upright judge. I am happy to be able to state farther that the laws of Illinois as amply, as fully protect woman in her rights, as those of any other state in the Union. Yours, etc., D. D. D.

We are happy to have this explanation of Judge Gary, but inasmuch as every man has a voice in the laws, we hold all "white males" responsible for the infamous laws on marriage and divorce that disgrace the statute books of nearly every state in the Union. What we ask is, that all these laws shall bear equally on man and woman. The wisest possible reform we could have on this whole question, is to have no legislation whatever. The relations of the sexes are too delicate in their nature for statutes, lawyers, judges, jurors, or our public journals to take cognizance of, or regulate. There is something monstrous and degrading to both man and woman, for two persons to live together as husband and wife, where there is so much antagonism as to admit of violence on any occasion whatever. So long as husbands and wives live in constant discord, friction and disgust, as the legitimate fruits of such unions, the race will be cursed with the blind, the maimed, the halt, with idiots, lunatics and criminals, with vice, ignorance and degradation. The shortest way to reform and elevate the race, is by recreation. *Nasciter non fit.* The family, that great conservator of national strength and morals, how can you build it up but in the virtue and independence of both man and woman?

MY DEAR MISS ANTHONY: Will your time permit you to give me a hearing? Long ago I wrote to you requesting information in regard to colleges for women. Your immediate and kind reply at that time now encourages me to again intrude upon you, since I again desire information. I shall next month enter the second year's course of the St Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. But my funds are short, and though I practice the most rigid economy, when I shall have finished the course, I shall, *for a woman*, be much in debt. I feel no energy to plod along in any of the departments which women commonly occupy, but in the right place I know that I could work with success to myself and others.

Will you assist me? When my school-days are finished, will you help me to begin? I wish at once to come to some decision as to my future course of life, since one can labor with more zest if there be an *aim* in view. If you will help me by advice, suggestion, information—if your time will permit you to reply to any question I may wish to ask—you shall have my thanks, I have nothing else to offer. I hope to hear from you soon.
Truly yours, EMMA FARRAND.

Let every girl, who can, study theology or medicine. There is a great demand for women in both these professions. We have two colleges in New York. A Homœopathic Woman's College, and an Allopathic College under the charge of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, a woman of great cultivation, scientific information, and irreproachable moral character. She graduated many years ago in the college at Geneva, with high honors, and has spent much time in the hospitals of Europe.

The Homœopathic College is under the charge of an able board of Trustees, and Dr. Clemence Lozier as Dean, one of our most successful physicians, whose income is $15,000 a year. The state has just made an appropriation to this college, and large buildings have been purchased, and there is now every promise of its complete success. It has been our most earnest desire to see these two institutions combined, and thus have all the enthusiasm that is now so rapidly coming up in favor of the education of women as physicians, concentrated in one grand effort. And to this end we shall still labor. The two colleges are within a few blocks of each other, and might easily unite in their lecture course. There are some free scholarships connected with the Homœopathic College, so that the only expense to such young girls would be books and board. Then there is the profession of law. A woman of education and ability could soon have a grand practice in defending the unfortunate of her own sex, and in this profession but few women have as yet essayed to walk. Kanses and Iowa already admit women to the bar.

NEW YORK, July 8, 1868.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON—*Madam:* I believe you first had the honor to make a *newsboy* out of a little girl. If I am wrong in this belief, still I know you are interested in the little girls who sell papers. I saw one

last night at the Chanler house (14th st). She was a sweet little creature, and I would have been proud of her for a sister. Her modesty was not less remarkable than the beauty of her features. She was about fourteen, I should say, though quite short in stature, for that age. My heart ached for the little creature, to see her in that crowd of men. I thought she might be in better business. But had this been all I saw, I should not have taken the liberty to address you. I saw a man insult her. He put his arm around her, and told her to "go home and admire herself." He was drunkish, and the little girl was mutely indignant. You will say the villain ought to have been knocked down, and that I ought to have done it, then and there, instead of whimpering to you over the matter this morning. Very true, madame. "The soft impeachment" is admitted. It "sticks." But then, you know, not every man will submit to be knocked down in a public place without making a disgraceful row over it, and claiming that he has been abused. Had I not been aware of this foolish prejudice on the part of my sex, I should have administered a castigation. Besides, you know, "a dwarf may have a giant for a friend," and this brute was anything but a dwarf, and may have had two or three friends within call. In fact, I had just seen him drinking with a crowd of loafers. I am well aware that such insults as that of which I have spoken are not nearly so dangerous as the devilish kindness and politeness of the accomplished rake, to which these girls are equally exposed. In crowds of men there are always some who use disgraceful language, and whose gestures are not at all modest, but are intended to set the minds of a young girl running on matters she ought not to speculate upon. Very likely you understand good little girls much better than I do, but when we talk of *bad men*, I know my knowledge of them infinitely exceeds yours.

Now, madame, in all seriousness, is it well to expose young girls in this manner to be corrupted by our sex? Would it not be better to find some less public occupation for them? To see them mixing in crowds of men in bar-rooms and hotel parlors is heart-rending. I pray you to endeavor to do something to avert the evil, or I greatly fear these same girls will be plying on your streets a more horrible trade when they get older.

I am, madame, with the utmost respect, your obedient servant, and A FRIEND TO THE LITTLE GIRLS.

Women and girls are much safer in a crowd against the insults of drunken men than in the privacy of home. Follow the little girl, who called forth your interest and pity to her home. She doffs her uniform, resumes her rags, and wends her way through filthy streets, through more obscene and drunken crowds than e'en the Chanler House can boast. Through dark alleys, curses, jibes, and jeers, she goes down, down into a dark damp cellar, where men, women and children, the vile, the virtuous, the drunk, the sober, all herd together, and there she spends the dark, sad hours of night. From nights of agony, and days of idleness and vice, we snatch these girls, covered with rags and vermin; we clean them, dress them, board them in decent quarters, and encourage them to earn an honest living. There is nothing in private they can do that is half so profitable and honorable as selling such a grand paper as "THE REVOLUTION" to gentlemen.

Follow the brute who insulted this pretty girl to his home. He rings the bell. A sweet girl of fourteen answers at the door. She is just bound to him until she is twenty-one. She has no other friend upon the earth; with eyes of love and pity, her father and mother look down from heaven, and watch her daily life. The family have gone into the country, this little girl with a drunken cook is left in charge. Alone with this vile, drunken man, with closed doors, what now! The angels weep over the wrongs and sorrows of the young, the innocent, in "the *sacred* privacy of home." So long as men are drunken, brutal, vile, better far that girls should meet them in public places, where noble, virtuous men, stand ready to defend them with their strong right arms, than alone, where no eye, save Omnipotence, takes cognizance of their wrongs. Remember, these men that shock the virtuous of their own sex have their mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, and if man shows out what he is anywhere, it is at his own hearthstone. This incident, so far from proving that the sphere of women and girls is within four walls, only proves the absolute necessity of their being everywhere. If we had a company of noble, virtuous women as police, such men would be ordered to the station-house. Man has had the universe for his hunting-ground long enough. As the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof, we propose that women shall now enjoy the same freedom.

A GERMAN WOMAN STUDIES DENTISTRY.

Translated for "THE REVOLUTION" from Der Bazaar, Berlin, June 8, 1868.

IN February, 1866, a Society was formed in Berlin for the purpose of opening to woman new branches of industry. It consists of men and women of all classes, some four hundred. The president is Dr. Lette.

Mrs. H., of Holstein, wishing to come to America to obtain a thorough knowledge of dentistry, first consulted Dr. Lette, to know whether she would be allowed to practice in Germany if she had a certificate? Having, through him, received a favorable answer from the Prussian government, she came to Philadelphia. From there she writes the following to Dr. Lette and encloses the accompanying letter from Prof Truman:

"When I presented myself for admission to the Dental College, I met unexpected difficulties. It is true that many women practice dentistry, but only one among them has received a regular college education. This one is in one of the western states and has her diploma. But what is done in one state, is no standard for other states, and my demand was very embarrassing to the president of the Philadelphia college. I told him I had come to America in the firm hope of finding republicans certainly *as* open to the reforms of the day as the Prussian ministry, that is willing, in an exceptional case, to grant me permission to practice. My demand was thereupon laid before the Faculty, and after a warm debate was accepted, thanks to the energetic intercession of Prof. Truman. He is highly respected here as a man of abilities and integrity. He had already declared openly that in the province of dentistry woman should be admitted to the same privileges with man. It was gratifying to him that a German woman was, from the condition of her own country, obliged to seek here an education in dentistry, and therewith to realize his idea.

Once having entered, everything went admirably. Professors and students were friendly and respectful. At first, indeed, it was very hard for me to be alone among all these men at the lectures, and to operate in the large Hospital hall observed and surrounded by them all. Only the thought that my success would incite other women to do likewise, and that I might be of some use to my German sisters, strengthened me, and enabled me to surmount every difficulty. When I look back upon the past winter, I really think I have won something for our cause.

I have refuted, with facts, the arguments of our adversaries, and of the hundreds who have visited our hospital but few have left without asking the students if it were possible that a woman could be a dentist? The result of the answers to these questions was that more patients came to me than I could receive. They brought children, especially, and thus verified the idea I had so often expressed in college, that women are the best dentists for children. As I look upon myself only as an incorporated idea, every little success gives me two-fold pleasure.

If German women would only see clearly that they must stand by and assist one another if they want to enlarge the province of their activity, not only as exceptions, but for the general rule!

They take great interest in me here, and make proposals for my remaining, but my mission lies not in America, but in old, good Germany. HENRIETTA H.

Philadelphia, March, 1868.

After the usual greetings, Prof. Truman says:

The interest which you have so often manifested in a higher scientific education for woman, as well as in opening to her new branches of industry in order to give her an independent position in the world, gives me courage to yield to the request of Mrs. H., to give you some communications as to her progress in the science she has chosen.

They seem to think in Germany that here every woman is free to choose and enter any profession. But this opinion is not entirely correct. We have, indeed, female physicians, and several are enjoying a large practice. We employ women in the government offices, and allow them this and that useful occupation. But we are still far from acknowledging universally that it is the right of every human being to choose the calling to which he feels himself adapted. It cost not a little trouble to obtain the admission of Mrs. H. to our college, but now that she has entered, her admirable conduct and fine tact have won for her not only the esteem of the teachers of the institution, but have also had a remarkable influence on the students. They have, from the commencement, not only treated her with the greatest respect, but out of consideration for her they have laid aside much coarseness of manner which has generally been thought inseparable from student life. Indeed, so great is the change, that those professors who had been the most unyielding in their objections to the admission of Mrs. H., are now pleased with this good result.

It was no easy task for a single woman in a hall filled with young men to undertake dental operations under their critical glances. Mrs. H. performed her work with such zeal and womanly dignity that she not only won their sympathy, but they were all eager to give her every possible assistance. The problem was solved. The young men saw daily that a woman worked, like themselves, from six to eight hours, and performed operations with a skill shown by few students. Judging by the progress she has already made, I think when the time comes for making her Doctor of Dentistry, we shall confer a degree on one rarely equalled in theory and practice. I hope and wish that on her return to her native land, she will succeed in disarming prejudice, as she has done here, and that her efforts and diligence will be crowned by a success that shall tempt others to "go and do likewise."

One single proof like this of the capacity of woman for a more liberal education confutes a thousand theoretical objections of narrow scholars.

JAMES TRUMAN.

Philadelphia, March, 1868.

We shall give further communications respecting Mrs. H., and, on her return from America, announce in which city of Prussia she will be established as a dentist.

INJUSTICE OF OUR LABOR SYSTEM.

EVERY man has a natural right to labor. Every man is equitably entitled to exactly that proportion of the world's wealth which his own labor produces. I hold the second of these propositions to be self-evident, and the first to follow clearly from the hypothesis that all men are endowed with an inalienable right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Now marketable commodities are of two kinds: First, the fruits or products of labor; Secondly, the means of labor. The means of labor are three in number: 1st, the earth and its crude products; 2d, time; 3d, vital energy. Without these, no man can possibly labor. And these, the means of labor, are not produced by labor. They are free gifts of God to man. It is a patent violation of man's natural right to labor, that the means of labor should be taken from him. It is a great wrong if any man is forced to pay for the privilege of working; therefore, it is wrong to buy up the means of labor and make them marketable commodities. I understand, of course, that any man has a right to exchange the fruits of his own labor for an equivalent in the fruits of some one else's. But the means of labor are not the fruits of labor at all. They belong only to the race. No person has a special right to them except the Almighty; for no one else can claim to have produced them. Unless I can buy them of my Creator, I have no right to deny them to any of my fellow-creatures.

Unhappily, capitalists have always the power to perpetuate the wrong under consideration. Not ten years since, they bought and sold the vital power, the living bodies of men. They still buy and sell the land and its crude products, thus compelling labor to pay a tax for their support. If we would know the possibilities of this iniquity let us look to Ireland. They there also buy up *time*, and compel men to pay a tax upon its use. Do you ask how? Through the principle of interest!

It may be said that to abolish those odious tyrannies would be to destroy our business relations. But here is the rub. Our social system is founded on iniquity. It is the cause of pauperism and all its horrors. It robs the laborer of two-thirds of the products of his toil, perhaps. Is it not a plain duty to seek its abolition?

The National Labor Union fail to see the exigency of the time, when they talk of the "unfair distribution of

the products of labor between *non-producing capital* and labor." Non-producing capital is a thief. Any distribution is unfair which gives products of labor to non-producing capital. Non-producing capital has the same claims on labor that a tape-worm or a fungus has upon the body it infests.

Sweep away our existing social system, and it must soon be succeeded by another. And what shall that other be? C. L. JAMES.

A NEW POLITICAL PARTY.

EXTRACTS OF A PRIVATE LETTER TO THE PROPRIETOR OF "THE REVOLUTION."

EVERY mail brings us letters calling for the formation of a new political party, based on democratic foundations. The people are tired to death of shams and pretences. Democrats and republicans are so alike as not to know each other apart. It is said the mothers in some of the smoky, grimy towns of England have to catch and wash the faces of their children, before each can tell her own. Our politicians are in the same dirty dilemma, and the people think it quite time to have done with the whole of them. But to the letter:

I must say that I favor the formation of a "New National party," that will give us a broad, Catholic platform, and will draw into its ranks the true men of both existing parties. It is the tendency of all political organizations to become rotten in time, to look for place and to sacrifice principle to obtain it. And moreover, parties become timid as they grow older. Look at the republican party as it was in the spring of 1864, and as it has been since the war began. Expediency rules it. Had the South in 1863 come out boldly, freed and armed the slaves, they would have conquered. All that year the republican rulers were vascillating. I well remember the tone of feeling among people in the country. "Why don't the President do something?" was the cry. It seemed to us who were far enough away from the glare and melee of office not to be blinded by it, that the time had fully come to strike an effective blow at slavery and the rebellion together; but what vascillations, what hesitancy in Washington! "The people are not ready," was constantly cried. "It will not do to issue a proclamation of emancipation," said the President; "the people are not prepared." Well, the summer dragged its weary days along, and some of us know how sleep fled from our eyes, or was filled with horrid imagery, while we vainly waited for something to be done, till September 1st. gave us a contingent emancipation proclamation.

Then came 1864. The radical people of the nation issued a call for a nominating Convention, to be held May 31st, at Cleveland. I attended with my father, who was both one of the signers of the call and a delegate. These earnest men met from all over the country,—even those who fought their way through foes for hundreds of miles, and who were terribly in earnest, that a radical platform should be laid by the Convention.

Then came the attempt to crush free speech. All about the city were groups of armed men whose avowed purpose was to break up the Convention. They congregated largely at the chief hotels, the Weddell House being the headquarters. They were the dirty workers of the republican party. Gen. Cochrane received letters of warning, and the affair ultimately reached such dimensions, that the defence of the Convention was placed in the hands of the city Marshal. Gen. Cochrane himself told me on our way home, that those men were hired by the republican party for the purpose of cowing the Fremont men or breaking up the Convention. "and," said he, "had worst come to worst, and had they entered the Convention, I should have locked the doors and let them fight it out. There were men among us from Kansas and Missouri, who, with rifle on their shoulders and bowie-knife at belt, had dodged the rebels, and they were too much in earnest to be gagged." "Yes," said he, "the grossest tyranny has at this Convention been attempted, and free speech assailed." In continuing the conversation, he said he did not expect to be elected, but the Convention had battled for principle, and if it only compelled the republicans to do right, it was all he asked.

It is a matter of history what effect the action of the Cleveland Convention had on the action of the Baltimore Convention the September following. The platform of the latter was but a reflex of the former in its general principles.

Now, what we women want, is a broad platform, upholding labor and individual rights, irrespective of sex, color, religion, or nationality,—one on which alike could stand the woman, the negro, the workingman and the foreigner; and a system of finance, that, *while it left the public credit unimpaired*, would inaugurate a wise economy, and look to a lightening of taxes and a speedy restitution of specie payments. I cannot agree with you on your greenback bond payment policy. I think the credit of the nation a private as well as a public claim. I know with what fear and trembling men here at the North invested in bonds. "What is best to be done?" would be said by one to another. "Shall we take bonds? It looks pretty squally." And the answer many times was, "Yes, take them; if the government fails everything goes with it; by investing one-half sustains the government, and if that is sustained, we are sustained with it."

What if California and the South and the West, do not hold many bonds. California was far removed from the exigencies of the situation. She had her own systems of finance arising from her being so fully a mining state. The South was in rebellion, and of course, would not sustain her opponent; and the West with its tens of thousands of young men rushed into actual conflict. The East, with its preponderance of women, sustained the war both with arms and money. Its old men, and men of small means, its widows and single women, alike took bonds. The credit of a nation is in its good faith. If we become rascals so soon after this war, how can we ever get credit to carry on another? Aside from the loss to foreigners, repudiation (which paying bonds in greenbacks at their present value, means) would be downright robbery of our own people, women and children. One of the meanest assumptions of the extreme wing of the democratic party, has been its threat of repudiation if in power, and still meaner is its talk by republicans who made the debt.

Immediate return to specie payments would not injure the trade of the country, more than it is now injured by vascillations and high prices. It is past the day of making money from the rise of goods. No larger profits are now gotten than were gotten before the war, while the price of living is from two to three-fold what it then was. This increase in the cost of living does not affect the laborer, or the farmer, because they get proportionately increased pay for the same amount of work, or produce; while the man whose gain is made by interchanging commodities, either for other commodities or for money, is the one upon whom falls the weight of this condition of things with the greatest force. You know I speak from actual experience, as my husband is a merchant.

I think it a duty we reformers owe to ourselves and to the country, to put in nomination a thorough radical on a sound anti-sex caste, anti-war caste, anti-thieving platform.

Rely upon me for all the aid in my power. I belong to the company of active workers, and as such you have my warmest sympathy.

By forming a separate party, we shall draw into its ranks all the really honest men of both parties, and we shall be educating the remainder. My experience with mankind is, that the great majority have no ideas or opinions of their own. They think as somebody else thinks, in whose ability or honesty they have confidence.

LETTER FROM MR. TRAIN.

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN IN A BRITISH BASTILE.—WHAT A WEAK-MINDED WOMAN SAYS.—RUSSIA AHEAD OF KANSAS.—FIVE COLUMNS OF THE EPIGRAM CAMPAIGN IN THE LONDON COSMOPOLITAN.—WHY DO WOMEN DO ALL THE DRUDGERY?—ANOTHER POPE IS KING OF ROME FOR ALMOST A QUARTER OF A CENTURY.—MR. TRAIN HOLDS A LEVEE IN JAIL ON THE FOURTH OF JULY.

FOUR COURTS MARSHALSEA,
July 4th, 1868.

DEAR "REVOLUTION": Here are three columns of my Levee in Jail in the *Irishman*, and four columns of my Mail Bag in the London *Universal News*, containing some points that will interest the proprietor of "THE REVOLUTION," and five columns from the London *Cosmopolitan* on woman, too long for "THE REVOLUTION," but you may wish to make extracts. Perhaps you can find room for the Epigram address to Ireland. It is loaded with shrapnel and grape. I am destroying England's prestige—am striking my foot through her baloon. It is Sherman's march to the sea. This letter will show you how firmly the Norman idea is taking hold of the European mind. Nagle, Meany, Costello, Warren, and the rest hold the balance of power. WE DON'T WANT THE ALABAMA CLAIMS PAID.

Stop Seward. Stop Thornton. We don't want the money. Legalized piracy is more profitable. If they pay, how can we run the blockade of Dublin, Belfast and Cork? *Let our government pay the shipowners.*

HOW ENGLAND CHRISTIANIZES ABYSSINIA.—ENGLAND HAS PLAYED HER OLD INDIAN GAME IN AFRICA.

The troops leave the country, and, on their return, supply Kansa, one of the most powerful chieftains, with arms and stores sufficient to make him superior to all the others. The Tigreans, the most savage and relentless of all the native tribes, have now the power to extend their sanguinary excesses among the more peaceably disposed pastoral and agricultural inhabitants of the interior. Hitherto kept in check by the terror of Theodore's name, though living by systematized exaction and robbery, they were, nevertheless, the terror, not alone of the neighboring tribes, but of all persons passing through their territory—even when under the express authority of the king. Plowden died at their hands; and all passing through their country were plundered in the name of tribute exacted by the chief or seized by his subordinates. Now, with superior arms and supplies, their power of mischief is immeasurably increased. England entered as the champion of justice and enemy of tyranny. She leaves it, having armed a band of organized robbers and murderers to prey on the industry of their less fortunate neighbors. She deprecates the tyranny of Theodore, and establishes a worse tyrant in his place. Truly there is much to rejoice over. Civilization arms the savage for the work of death; and then congratulates herself on her impartial sense of justice. The moral is manifest: England pays for their forbearance by assisting them in their crimes.—*Alexander Sullivan's Nation.*

Young Theodore is to be educated by the Queen, while the Prince of Wales protects the throne of England. See Cartoon in Tomahawk. Another *Brown Study.*

THERE IS MANY A TRUE WORD SPOKE IN JEST.

The moment woman ceases to be a plaything, a baby and doll, the sun will shine upon the just as well as the unjust. "THE REVOLUTION" will not postpone this reformation even to the fourth generation.

From London Fun, Tom Hood's paper.

WOMANHOOD SUFFRAGE.

We strolled within the garden where we'd often strolled before,
And her sweet meandering movements made me love her all the more;
We plucked the summer roses, as is usual, I believe,
And I think I ought to mention 'twas a very dewy eve.

'Twas pleasant—I confess it—to be walking by her side,
With a dream of orange flowerets and her presence as my bride;
So I whispered that I loved her, and I asked her there and then,
Would she make me at St. George's, far the happiest of men?

And I pleaded for an answer. Would she bid me ask papa,
And then hide her burning blushes on the breast of her mamma?
Or dispensing with her parents, would she take me on the spot,
Or make answer, if disdainful, "Gentle Sir, I'd rather not?"

You can fancy I was startled when she said, in accents mild,
"Your sex has treated woman up to this time like a child;
But we're now to have the franchise, and I ask you, sir, do you
Hold Conservative opinions, or adopt a Liberal view?

I was puzzled; it was awkward; and I answered, I'm aware,
By a very stupid silence and an idiotic stare;
But at length I plucked up courage, and I said "Upon my oath,
I'm a Liberal-Conservative and always vote for both."

"You pitiable creature," then she answered, "it was well
I asked you your opinions on politics to tell;
I never will unite myself to one so mean of heart,
Know, sir, *I* am a Radical, and therefore we must part!"

In vain I tried to argue, and I swore that she was right—
I was game to love my BRADLAGH, and to cling to BEALES and BRIGHT;
I even dropt obtrusively the manliest of tears—
She scorned my swift conversion, and she answered me with sneers.

And never since that fatal day I've ceased to madly hate
The thought of giving women any power within the state;
One only consolation now remains my heart to fill,
The thought of claiming damages from innovating MILL!

IS WOMAN A WOLF IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING, OR A SHEEP IN WOLF'S CLOTHING?

I answer promptly. She is neither. She is a slave, according to the Gospel of Sumner, Greeley, Phillips, Garrison. She is not as far advanced as the negro, consequently, he must vote and she continue in bondage. How completely *we* women of "THE REVOLUTION" tripped up these Elders when interfering with Susannah and the Turkish Bath in that Kansas Campaign. This poor woman cannot understand the duality of life. Man and woman together. But this shows how the mind of woman is being agitated.

FEMALE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

To the Editor of the Pall Mall Gazette:

SIR: I believe I am describing the experience of many other women as well as my own when I say that my life is becoming a burden to me by reason of our rights. It is not only that I am tossed between wishing for (some of) them and dreading them, but also that I cannot help spending a great deal of time and mental labor, which I can ill-afford, in speculating as to what they are. I am therefore wholly unable to decide, and must leave it to you and your readers to settle, on which side of the question I am—whether I am a wolf in sheep's clothing, or a sheep in wolf's clothing. I believe I am sometimes one and sometimes the other, and this is not the least of my grievances.

I do not know whether I ought to wish that women should be represented in Parliament or not; but I am sure of one thing, which is, that if we are not only to elect, but to be members of Parliament (which I suppose is in store for us), and if the object be to ascertain our opinions upon national affairs, we ought to have a third House to ourselves in which to express them. We should never hold our own against the male members if we were opposed to them, for whether individually weaker than men or not (since that, it seems, is to be considered as an open question now), there can be no doubt that collectively we should be so in the race of public life, since collectively we cannot cease to be weighted with family cares from which men are free.

If we had a separate House for female members, elected by Female Suffrage, we might express our opinions as much as we liked, we should avoid the practical difficulties attending the introduction of a feminine element into the present system, and the Legislature might attach whatever weight it thought proper to our votes. I might be satisfied if the Ladies' House were to constitute a sort of standing committee for the investigation of suitable subjects, while more advanced or single-minded advocates of women's rights might demand that every bill should pass not only the Lords and Commons, but the Ladies, before it received the Royal assent. However, this might be arranged, I think it would promote both decorum and fair play if the female members had a House to themselves; but in the bewildered state of mind to which the continued discussion of woman's rights and of everything else appertaining to women has reduced me, I am unable to judge calmly of the value of my own suggestions. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

A WOMAN OF UNSOUND WIND.

A third House for women. Absurd. What is wanted is duality. Two ears, two eyes, and but a single tongue by natures' laws to man belong. The lesson she would teach is clear; repeat but half of what you hear is Socratian Philosophy. If Eve ate twice of the Tree of Knowledge, and Adam but once, as stated, woman ought to know twice as much as man—or at least a third more.

THE POPE IS THE THIRD WHO HAS BEEN TWENTY-THREE YEARS A KING.

Meanwhile, undisturbed by the plottings and machinations of his enemies, his Holiness continues to enjoy excellent health and spirits. On the 16th ultimo he commenced the twenty-third year of his Pontifical reign. Since St. Peter, to whom history assigns twenty-five years, there have been but three Popes out of 258 who have lived to commence or to finish their twenty-third year of government. They are: Adrian I., Pius VI. and Pius VII. Pius IX. will be the fourth. His advanced age does not appear to impair to the faintest extent the intellectual activity of the Sovereign Pontiff. We learn by telegraph that he has summoned a General Council of the Catholic Church, to be held at Rome in December, 1869. The object of the Council is "to assure the integrity of the faith, respect for religion and the ecclesiastical laws, the improvement of public morals, the establishment of peace and concord, and the removal of the ills afflicting civil and religious society."

The Emperor of Austria is playing Joseph the Second on the Pope. He has burst up the Concordat, and is Americanizing Austria. The Holy Father is furious, and hurls everlasting anathemas at the monarch. Let the Pope go in for Woman Suffrage, and "THE REVOLUTION" will prop him up till he complete a quarter of a century of kingship?

RUSSIA AHEAD OF THE WORLD ON WOMAN.

THE WOMAN QUESTION IN RUSSIA.—The *Courrier Francais*, a French journal, having recently stated that England was the first to emancipate the negro, and would be the first to emancipate woman, the *Nord* takes it to task for the assertion, and declares that the latter work has already been accomplished by Russia. In that country, it says, the emancipation exists, and always has existed, husband and wife being two persons entirely independent of each other in the eyes of the civil law. The husband not only cannot dispose of the property of his wife, but she herself may dispose of it without consulting him in any way. Politically, too, there is complete equality between the two; and if the wife possesses the necessary property qualification she can vote for the election of members to the provincial general councils newly instituted, her sex being no obstacle to the exercise of the right. It will thus be seen that in this question, England has merely to follow, Russia having already led the way.

Bravo, Russia! Your Empresses have shown that women have brains and can manage empire. "THE REVOLUTION" is working out the grandest idea since the world began.

THE WOMEN DO ALL THE DRUDGERY AND HAVE NO VOTES.

I saw a great number of the natives lately. Several hundreds of them are encamped within a short distance of us. They are quite savage and uncivilized in appearance, but quiet and inoffensive in their manner. The men are about middle height, with very small light limbs. They are very dark in color—nearly as black as the pot—with middling good features; but their women are very small and ordinary. They wear nothing but a kangaroo skin about their shoulders, and hanging loosely as far as their knees. Some of their men paint their faces red. *The women do all their work, drudgery, etc.* The men do nothing but hunt and fish.—*Letter from Brophy, Fenian Convict, from Australia.*

It is so with woman the world over. Among the poor it is

Seam and gusset and band,
Band and gusset and seam,
Till over the work they fall asleep,
And sew then on in a dream.

Among the rich, what have women to do but dress, and call, and gossip, and drink Bourbon, read flashy novels and flirt? Nothing. Give them a chance with men; occupy their minds; open up their great talents, and then they will be nobler than those poor Australians; now they have nothing but the drudgery of sloth, and idleness, and despair. Hurry up with the Revolution. Reynolds quotes a column this week, and the *News* and *Nation* both have E. C. S. on Col. Nagle.

FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS FROM THE ENGLISH LECTURES FOR THE STATE PRISONERS.

LETTER FROM GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

FOUR COURTS MARSHALSEA,
Dublin, June 22, 1868.

Dear Irishman:

"A CASE OF URGENT DISTRESS.—An appeal is confidently made to the public on behalf of a widow lady and her daughter, who are now in dire distress owing to their devotion to Ireland's cause. A small sum is asked to place them in business, and thus pay a nation's debt of gratitude. The smallest subscriptions thankfully received at the *Irishman* office, Dublin.

Were my five thousand city lots (or rather to please Judge Miller, my wife's) turned into golden dollars, I would answer these lines with a cheque. But as it is, I have devoted all the proceeds of my lectures (the late English tour, I am told, produced some £500 for the cause of political distress) to national Irish charities, and paying the passages of the Jacknell men, besides using up some £125 of my pocket money. God knows how long I am to be bottled up in jail, but my disposition is to lecture for this poor lady, or in some way start the sympathy of the generous Irish to all those who suffer for Ireland.—Sincerely,

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

P.S.—Let me add a line in praise of that noble lady, the English Marchioness of Queensbury, who has done more for the families of the Irish state prisoners than all the aristocracy of England combined.

Should John F. Monck, of the London *Irishman*, call, introduce him to your dramatic critic. His plays are too strong for the British government.

Don't forget to exchange with London *Cosmopolitan;* and send "REVOLUTION" to Newport, where a cottage, and wife and boys, and Sue, Bell, and Yacht, and six horses in the stable, and billiard-room, bowling-alley, and bathing houses all await me. Three cheers for the glorious Fourth, the brave Cabinet, the noble Congress, that sends a Minister to England when our citizens are in bastiles!

THE WHIPPING-POST OF ENGLAND.

From the Northern Star.

Supposing, therefore, that Father McMahon had been guilty of an offence against red-tape routine; supposing he had been guilty of an offence against a harsh and unnatural discipline, was this a reason for subjecting him to treatment that is unknown in almost all countries west of the Ural Mountains—but one? In Russia the knout has been all but disowned. Throughout Germany the lash has been repudiated. In France it dared not be mentioned. In Italy it has not yet been resorted to. In Spain it is unheard of. In England alone it is upheld as an agency of punishment and reform, to the degradation of the victims and the disgrace of the nation. England is the only country in the world which has reduced political offences to the level of criminality. If there was something fearfully cruel in the alleged horrors of the Bastile and the Neapolitan dungeons, the victims of them had, at least, the small but not insignificant consolation of being exceptional sufferers. Under the free Constitution of Great Britain, however, even this consolation, the saddest to which the doomed can look forward, is denied to political offenders. They are not merely legally punished, but socially and personally degraded. They are made the associates of the lowest scum who figure in the criminal calendar; and the forger and the thief—the reprieved murderer and the favored swindler—can count on more consideration than the political enthusiast, whose greatest fault is attributable to his sincerity.

Why don't you demand the release of Father McMahon instead of allowing "Dear Mr. Seward and dear Mr. Thornton" to coddle up the Alabama claims, and talk over their punch, new reciprocity treaties. If any Minister was to be sent to England, Thornton was the man. Campbello and Warren must go home in a row.

GEORGE FRANCIS

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, PARKER PILLSBURY, } Editors.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, JULY 23, 1868.

OUR JAILS AND PRISONS.

How few people, so long as they are free and happy, ever pause to think of the sufferings of the poor criminals; of the pitiable condition to which these human beings are doomed for life, or a term of years! How little wisdom they manifest by whose fiat crimes are determined, by whom men and women, boys and girls, are incarcerated in dark, damp, gloomy prisons, in narrow, unventilated cells, infested with rats, mice and vermin, lodged on filthy beds of straw and fed on sour bread, tainted meat, and unsavory soup, wholly subject to the will of cruel keepers! for what men were ever trusted with absolute authority without abusing it?

Oh, think of it, women, who do not care to vote, if you had a voice in the legislation of the country, what you might do to reform our whole criminal code and modes of punishment! Think of what it is to be deprived of liberty, to be compelled to eat, drink and sleep, to speak, think, move and work at the will of another. Think of the unfortunate ones, shut in from all the pleasant sights and sounds of earth, to see the sun, the moon, the stars, the sweet faces of those they love no more! for them the flowers, the budding trees, the new mown hay, send forth no fragrance, the birds, the wind, the babbling brooks make no music. Their senses are closed against everything that makes life attractive, they see and hear and know nothing beyond those massive walls.

Now is not all this punishment enough, without adding unnecessary rigors and privations to their lives? It is only by making the sorrows of others our own, that we can look feelingly on the wrongs of the race. Suppose, fond mother, you had a son in Auburn, Sing Sing, or the Tombs, could you be indifferent to the fact, that through these long hot nights, he cries in vain, for water and for air, and the sultry mornings brings him no relief? You, who make the laws, go to your station houses, prisons, jails, behold how those who once have lived in palaces are lodged and clothed and fed. Perchance you and your sons are free and happy to day. If you break the law, your gold protects you against the hard, grinding world, it bribes the judge, the jury, and unlocks the prison doors; but by some sudden turn in fortune's wheel, tomorrow you may fill those vacant places, and in solitude and bitterness remember, that when you had the power to make these prisons what they should be, pleasant homes of peace and industry for the morally weak and unfortunate, you thought only of selfish ease and personal aggrandizement. What a spectacle for the metropolis of a Christian country, in the nineteenth century, where ten thousand spires are pointing to the heavens, is that low, dark prison called the Toombs! where men and women, through these sultry months, plead in vain for air, where little boys stand sentinels through the long nights, taking turns to watch one another lest they should be devoured by rats! There is not a station-house, a jail, a prison in the whole country, that has any proper mode of ventilation whatever. We ask the pulpit, the press and the politicians, to turn from their theologies, politics and petty wranglings about men and parties, and consider the horrible cruelties inflicted on poor convicts, in our very midst. True they have no money for the priests, or votes for the politicians, but is there not enough humanity in this nation to demand an entire change in prison life, in its conditions and discipline? Let us remember that our children and grandchildren, too, may be caught in the nets set by cunning hands on every side, for the weak and the unwary and come to lie down at last within those gloomy walls. Does not a wise selfishness teach us how our interests and those of all mankind are bound together? If mothers are far-sighted, they will see they have interests outside of home, in clearing up this great wilderness of life, in plucking the thorns from the ten thousand paths where so many of our fairest sons and daughters have stumbled and gone down. We remember travelling a few years ago in company with half a dozen boys who had just been tried at Syracuse, handcuffed and on their way to Auburn prison. They were all respectable-looking boys, with good heads and pleasant faces, though now overcast with a hopeless sadness. We were so much affected with the sight, that we stood by them and talked until they reached their destination. We were specially attracted to one by whom a soldier with crutches sat talking and weeping. His name was John Ryan. Addressing him, we said, you have too good a face and head to be caught in such company. "Ah!" said he, "I went out one evening, with a few fellows to have a little fun, drank too much wine and not knowing what we were about, we broke into a house, knocked down the police and were lodged in jail to repent at leisure. I had no desire to steal, no malice in my heart, and but for that cursed rum should be free to-day." "Oh! yes," said the old soldier, "John is one of the noblest boys God ever made. I was with him all through the war. We were together in Sherman's march through the south. I have seen him many a time give a cup of water to a sick soldier when suffering with thirst himself. I have seen him perform such acts of self-sacrifice that it fits him better to be embalmed as a saint than imprisoned as a felon. After such devotion to his country and generosity to his fellows as he has manifested, it breaks my heart to think that in an evil hour he should have been misled;" and they wept together. At last, said John, "Well, no matter; I will make the best of it, two years will soon pass, and I will come out a wiser and a better man. I have made up my mind to obey every rule, to submit to tyranny and insults even, as patiently as I can. There can be nothing worse than the jail in Syracuse. I have lived through six weeks there, bad as it is, and I think I can stand two years in Auburn; but the loss of my good character makes me miserable." We asked him many questions about jail life. He told us of the dirty cells and beds, and disgusting food, sour bread, tainted meat, unsavory soup, of the vermin, rats and mice, foul air; but all that, said he, is nothing to the loneliness, the solitude, the weariness of having nothing to do. Our keepers pretended to supply us with reading, but they would give us one small tract that we could read in ten minutes. Dull as these tracts were, we were glad to get them, and would change with one another by tying a string to them and swinging them from door to door. "Oh!" said he, "those long, long days and sleepless nights! You can for no idea how the the prisoner suffers from the monotony of his life and the need of air and exercise." And thus we talked until at last the conductor shouted "Auburn." We shall never forget the look of agony that passed over those young faces as they bade the group that had gathered round them farewell. Shaking hands with us, "Oh," said John, "do come and see me." I learned what a blessed thing it was to see a woman's face in the army and the hospitals. "Yes," we said, "and when women are inspectors of prisons, and have a word to say about the care of you unfortunate ones, there will be many changes for the better within these gloomy bastiles. As we saw those great iron gates close behind that troop of boys, we said to a friend by our side, if we could only galvanize the women of this nation into their right minds, how soon we could change all these gloomy prisons into moral seminaries for the improvement of the weak and vicious. All we seem to contemplate now is the punishment of the prisoner and the protection of society, forgetting that they are the wards of the state, and it is the duty of the state to see that all their surroundings are in harmony with the highest physical and moral laws. Surely, we have done everything the safety of society requires when we shut criminals up within four walls. And the good of the prisoner is now the important question. It is not too much to demand of the state that our prisons shall be on high, well drained land, in healthy locations, surrounded with gardens, where the prisoners can breathe the sweet morning air, hear the birds sing, and with their own hands cultivate flowers, and raise fruits and vegetables for their own table, instead of being confined as they now are to dried beans, salted pork and beef.

In those states where public lands are now being given away to monopolists, let some be reserved for jails and prisons, that criminals may enjoy the blessings of out-door labor. Again, it is not too much to demand of the state, that inasmuch as the air is forty miles deep all round the globe, and they are not obliged to trundle it in wheelbarrows to these places of confinement, that there shall be a constant current of pure air circulating through all our prisons, jails, and station-houses. In view of the abundant supply that Nature has provided, it is a piece of unnecessary economy to breathe it more than once. It is not too much to ask that our criminals shall have schools, books, pictures, music, amusements, and lectures, on a variety of subjects. The terrible monotony of their lives produces idiocy and insanity, and renders them unfit for life when they return to it. You cannot reform men by a system, that unnerves the mind through constant fear, that destroys all ambition and self-respect, that furnishes no motive to obedience and well doing. Surely, mothers should have a voice in the making and administering of our criminal laws, in the treatment of these weak and unfortunate ones. When woman walks these prison halls with her love and mercy, when she is a responsible witness of the horrible punishments inflicted on her sons, from the fiendish cold shower, to the gallows, these things will all be changed. Woman knows the cost of life better than man does, hence her quick sympathy for suffering, her impulse to save and protect life. The family is but the nation in miniature, and we all know how it is there. The stern father turns off his disobedient children, refuses to see or speak to a daughter who has married against his will, or he thrusts the drunken son from his door, and tells him never to show his

face there again. But whoever saw a mother's love thus at fault? She denies herself every comfort and luxury, and steals away when her husband is asleep or from home, and carries all she has saved to her suffering child. She brings the poor dissipated son home again if drunk, pulls off his boots and coat, bathes his fevered head and watches him while he sleeps. If sober, she whispers to him words of comfort and encouragement. She strengthens his feeble resolutions, and forgives him, though he sins seventy times seven. With love and charity, she follows him in his downward course, ever hoping and praying, even to the gates of death. This element of womanhood we desire to see recognized in the laws and punishments of criminals. We need mercy as well as justice, love as well as force in the management of these unfortunate children of poverty, ignorance, and vice, cribbed, caged, as they have been, in the by-places of sin and iniquity, their lives all through.

These neglected ones, who gather in our jails and prisons, appeal to the Christianity of the age, for a new and better system of treatment, that shall look to their health, happiness, and higher development. E. C. S.

HARRIET LIVERMORE.

This very remarkable personage died lately in Philadelphia, where she had for several years resided in comparative obscurity. We have watched carefully for some account of her life, adventures and experiences, but not much appears to be known of her by the present generation. Mr. Whittier has celebrated her somewhat in song, and a few scanty facts of her are given in the New York *Evening Post*, probably from the pen of Mr. Bryant. If those two gentlemen, whose memory runs back to the days of her active life and ministry, could give the world a more complete memoir of her, it would doubtless be read with deep interest in this hour so fertile in female biography. She was born in Concord, New Hampshire, on the 14th of April, 1788. Her father was St. Loe Livermore, born in Londonderry of the same state in 1761, and died in Tewksbury, Mass., in 1832. The family has been well known and distinguished in New England since its earliest settlement. Harriet was a religious enthusiast, a firm believer in the second coming of Christ on earth, long before the doctrine had been proclaimed by the sect known since the time of Rev. William Miller as Second Adventists, or Millerites. And what she believed she went forth and publicly proclaimed with great boldness and eloquence. Her superior social position, splendid personal appearance, her fine culture, her usually meek and musical voice and utterance, joined to an earnestness and sincerity amounting almost to wildness at times, all combined to give force to her ministrations, and for a time she was a most marked character in the New England states. The social as well as religious condition of her country stirred her soul to its profoundest depths; and, could a full biography of her now be furnished, it would doubtless appear that many of the progressive ideas of to-day were inspirations with her, full fifty years ago.

At length, as the *Evening Post* says, her friends missed her, and after many months they heard of her in Europe and Asia and Africa.

"Since then, what old cathedral town
Has missed her pilgrim staff and gown?
What convent has held back its look
Against the challenge of her knock?

* * * * * *

Through Smyrna's plague-hushed thoroughfares,
Up sea-set Malta's rocky stairs,
Gray olive slopes of hills that hem
Thy tombs and shrines, Jerusalem,
Or startling on her desert throne
The crazy Queen of Lebanon
With claims fantastic as her own,
Her tireless feet have held their way;"
"And still unrestful, bowed and gray,
She watches under Eastern skies,
With hope each day renewed and fresh,
The Lord's quick coming in the flesh,
Whereof she dreams and prophesies."

Mr. Whittier had not heard that she had returned to her native land when *Snow Bound* was written.

At one time (continues the *Post*) we find her in Egypt giving our late consul, Mr. Thayer, a world of trouble arising from her peculiar notions. At another time we see her amid the gray olive slopes of Jerusalem, demanding—not begging—money for the "Great King;" and once when an American, fresh from home during the late rebellion, offered her in Palestine a handful of greenbacks, "she flung them back to him with disdain, saying: 'The Great King will only have gold!'" At one time, years ago, she climbed the sides of Mount Libanus and visited Lady Hester Stanhope, that eccentric sister of the younger Pitt.

One day they went to the stables where Lady Hester had a magnificent collection of Arabian horses, for it is well known that Lady Hester, amongst her other oddities, married a Sheik of the mountains, and thus had a fine opportunity for securing the choicest steeds of the Orient. Lady Hester pointed to Harriet Livermore two very fine horses with peculiar marks, but differing from each other in color. "That one," said Lady Hester, "The Great King, when he comes, will ride, and the other I will ride in company with him." Thereupon Miss Livermore gave a most emphatic "No," and declared, with foreknowledge and *aplomb*, that "the Great King will ride this horse, and it is I who, as his bride, will, at his second coming, ride the other horse." It is said that she carried her point with Lady Hester, overpowering her with superior fluency and assertion. No wonder Whittier speaks of her as

"——startling on her desert throne
The crazy Queen of Lebanon
With claims fantastic as her own."

She seems to have been at some time a visitor to the home of Whittier, for in his almost inimitable poem, he speaks of her at the fireside, where on

"that winter night
Flashed back from lustrous eyes, the light.
Unmarked by time, and yet not young,
The honeyed music of her tongue
And words of meekness scarcely told
A nature passionate and bold,
Strong, self-concentred, spurning guide,
Its milder features dwarfed beside
Her unbent will's majestic pride.
She sat among us, at the best,
A not unfeared, half-welcome guest,
Rebuking with her cultured phrase
Our homeliness of words and ways.
* * * * *
A woman tropical, intense
In thought and act, in soul and sense,
She blended in a like degree,
The vixen and the devotee.
* * * * *
Her tapering hand and rounded wrist
Had facile power to form a fist;
The warm, dark languish of her eyes
Was never safe from wrath's surprise,
Brows saintly calm and lips devout
Knew every change of scowl and pout;
And the sweet voice had notes more high
And shrill for social battle-cry."

The poet beautifully throws the mantle of charity over her in the conclusion of his sketch:

"It is not ours to separate
The tangled skein of will and fate,
To show what metes and bounds should stand
Upon the soul's debated land,
And between choice and Providence
Divide the circle of events.

But He who knows our frame, is just,
Merciful and compassionate,
And full of sweet assurances,
And hope for all the language is,
That He remembereth we are dust.

P. P.

THE PEOPLE,

Such is the rather novel name of a large handsome and ably opened democratic newspaper in Concord, New Hampshire; in outward appearance certainly behind no paper in that state, and for a political journal, so far as yet appears, a model of good taste in manners and morals. And no state more than New Hampshire needs a good example set in these respects. The first page of the number before us is filled with well-selected articles, religious, moral and miscellaneous, adapted to family use and improvement; but when we turn over, the scene changes, and old, dark age, petrified democracy appears in all its dreary proportions, only redeemed by decent dress and behavior, and commendable ability; which, it must be confessed, are a great deal in these degenerate days. On the question of suffrage the *People* says:

The right of suffrage is a sacred and an inestimable right. The ballot is the potent sceptre of the sovereign people. By its resistless power the people make Presidents and all other officers, and decree constitutions by which their agents and themselves shall be governed. The right of suffrage, therefore, should not be tampered with. It should not be degraded. It should not be corrupted. Bribery of the voter is a high moral as it is a political crime. It poisons the fountain head of a free government. But it is equally criminal to degrade suffrage. It is criminal to cheapen it by bestowing it upon an ignorant, barbarous and brutal people of another race.

So far we agree, only add, no matter what color that race may be, or from what country; or of what sex. The *People* proceeds a little lower down:

Ignorance and brutality, invested with suffrage, will commit errors and outrages, and bring that great sovereign right of the people into disgrace and contempt. Then society, in order to protect itself, will have to control the right, perhaps to abolish it, and vest the exercise of the sovereign power in the hands of a few, or perhaps in a monarch. These are the dangers of negro suffrage.

The *People* all this time, then, is talking about four millions of a colored race, in a nation of thirty millions. We may have to change from Democracy to "Monarchy" to control these four millions! Never were four millions paid so high a compliment before. Shades of Miltiades and Leonidas, look to your laurels! Four millions of *nigger* slaves, upturning the mightiest republic ever builded, and compelling it into a monarchy! O, no! not so bad as that, let us hope and pray. The *People* is young yet, and will get wiser as it grows older.

New Hampshire was lost to the democrats last March, only by their *damning the nigger;* and the party seems determined to go the same road next November.

We are absolutely compelled to decline many excellent articles for want of space. Great thoughts are struggling for utterance on every hand. We need at least a semi or tri-weekly to

do our friends the justice we would. As soon as our circulation will warrant, we shall either enlarge in size, or change from the weekly to a more frequent issue.

THE NATIONAL TAXATION.

The Schoharie *Republican* figures the national indebtedness, including all just dues to loyal parties, that is, the town, city, county and state demands, at more than four billions of dollars, and says with terrible truth, probably, that all the gold and silver now in coin on the whole earth could not cancel it. The *Republican* makes a pretty parody on Sydney Smith's schedule of British taxation, as follows:

Taxes must embrace the price of every article that enters the mouth, clothes the back, or warms the feet; on everything consoling to the taste, smell, feeling, hearing and seeing; taxes on heat, emigration, machinery and light; taxes on the sea, ocean, earth and air; on everything grown at home or brought from afar; taxes on the crude material and its increased value by the improvement of art; taxes on the drug to restore man to health and the sauce to glut his appetite; taxes on coffee, sugar, tea, fish and oysters, and the man that sells them; taxes on rum, gin, beer and brandy, and the drunkard that drinks them; taxes on the steamboat, telegraph, railroad, and the hands that made them; taxes on banks, lawyers, judges, and butchers, and their bleeding victims; taxes on bonds, mortgages, deeds and notes, and the misers that hold them; taxes on the garb that decks the king, and the hemp which hangs the rebel; on the queen's spice, and the pauper's salt; on the bride's wreath, the shroud of the corpse, and the nails of the coffin.

The schoolboy glides on his taxed skates; the dandy runs his taxed horses, with a taxed sulky, on a taxed highway; and the dying American takes his nostrum, which has cost five per cent., from a spoon that paid fifteen per cent., falls back in expiring agony on a settee that paid twenty-five per cent., and dies in the presence of his physican, who paid ten dollars for a license to ease his departure. Then his whole estate is immediately taxed from one to five per cent., after which his name is handed down to future generations on taxed marble; then he goes to his last resting place to be taxed no more.

TRAIN AND THE BRITISH LION.

The British lion has beat George Francis Train. He writes to the *Express* that he is now in prison for life. This is a sad change from the defiant tone of his former epistles, in which he promised that Warren and Costello should at once be released through his intervention, after which he was coming home to run for the Presidency on an Irish democratic platform. We suppose the truth is that the Tammany politicians, who have always had a great deal of influence with the British crown, have had Mr. Train incarcerated so that he might not run against the regular democratic candidate this fall. As soon as the election is over, so that he can do them no mischief, they will have him released again and he can either stay in England and prosecute his claim for damages against the British government, or return to America and attend to his gigantic speculations, and advocate the cause of temperance and Woman's Suffrage. But a candidate for the Presidency in 1868 he cannot possibly be.—*N. Y. Sun.*

There has, no doubt, been foul play with this noble, generous man; and we feel it is the duty of government to interfere in his behalf. So far from his being in debt to Englishmen, they are in debt to him hundreds of thousands of dollars. We hope to see that government made to pay damages for thus interrupting a peaceful citizen in the prosecution of his lawful business. If George Thompson had a right to come to this country and rebuke us for our oppressions of the African race, has not George Francis Train an equal right to rebuke England for her oppressions of the Irish race?

? A Great Queen.—Queen Isabella, of Spain, weighs 250 pounds.

WOMAN AS PRINCIPAL.

The Philadelphia Board of Controllers of Public Schools are endeavoring to make a law that hereafter, no woman shall be eligible to the office of Principal of a boys Grammar School. When they have done that, they should also enact that there be henceforth no more new moons, the old in its last quarter answering all their own and their fellow-owl's purposes.

The Cincinnati *Gazette* relates that one Burns, clerk in the Collector's Office at Cincinnati, recently discovered, in the dead of the night, a lot of whiskey being transported into a house on Sycamore street, in that city. The next morning he reported to the Collector, who told him to "keep still," and "that whiskey would be nabbed by the officers." It was *not* "nabbed;" and, a few nights after, the clerk saw more whiskey going to the same place. This time he reported to Special Agent Worthington, who said he was "glad to receive the information," and promised to "act at once." But he did not "act." So Burns, being advised by others, wrote a statement of the facts, and sent it to Commissioner Rollins, at Washington. In a few days he received a reply from the Treasury Department, dismissing him from his place.

The *Gazette* adds, that Mr. Burns is a a respectable, well-known gentleman, and an honest man, who endeavored honestly to do his duty, and prevent the government from being swindled.

Instances have not been wanting before of subordinates being dismissed for this tale-telling out of school. Could all the clerks in Washington be heard and believed, both women and men, as to outrages constantly perpetrated and proposed there, the people, irrespective of sex or party, would rush in righteous wrath upon their Capitol, and hurl the government from place and power, cost what it might.

The People's Weekly.—This is an able paper, and devoted to the interests of labor and the working people. It is published both in Baltimore and Washington. It is, we fear, a little too far south in its tone and spirit. Its New York correspondence has this on a recent Labor Meeting in Cooper institute:

After Gen. Cary came Mr. Heywood, of Boston, who, notwithstanding his acknowledged ability as a speaker, made a very flat failure, and disappointed the friends of the Labor Reform movement, by taking occasion to canonize John Brown, and deify those *paid* agents of British commercial rivalry, Wendell Phillips and Wm. Lloyd Garrison. His remarks cast a wet blanket over the meeting.

We differ entirely from the *Weekly* as to the remarks of Mr. Heywood, and we deny utterly its right to insinuate anything so false of Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. History is already taking care of John Brown. He stands, and will stand the sublimest moral phenomenon of the nineteenth century. Slavery like that against which he drew the sword, might have been tolerated thirty or forty centuries ago, but light or lightning, thought or thunder will prove too omnipotent for it to-day. A *Working people's* paper can do better service to its clients than to be apologizing for slave labor, or defaming its most valiant opponents.

Education in Kansas.—Probably Kansas has one of the best school systems in the union. The Atchison *Press* says; Every 16th and 36th section is school land, amounting to three million acres. The public schools and school buildings are superior to many in other states. And women vote on all educational questions, too. Besides the State University at Lawrence, with 46,000 acres, the Agricultural College, Manhattan, with 90,000, there are six universities, one college, two institutes, two academies, and one female academy—all of which are liberally endowed.

The tendency of American, as well as English legislation, is toward greater protection to the rights and property of married women.—*Exchange.*

Lord Chancellor Eldon said that a shrewd lawyer could drive a coach and horses through a statute. This has proved true of progressive legislation in America. Here have conservative judges and the paid ingenuity of advocates defeated the effect of noble laws. For instance, in New Jersey, a statute was carefully drawn, giving to married women the exclusive possession of their property; but the courts, by a close construction, held that it gave them no power to dispose of their estate, by will or (we believe) otherwise. When some of the women of New Jersey petitioned this year that this matter might be set right by another enactment, the Legislature slighted the request made for those who had no votes. The power behind the throne is greater than the throne. We have no throne here, but to make enactments effective, we must have a power behind the law. That power must be the vote of those for whose benefit the law is made, so that they can control and compel its execution.

Wisconsin Spiritualists.—The recent State Convention adopted the following, among other resolutions:

Resolved, That we hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men and *women* are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with unalienable rights—among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that all governments not founded on the principles of equal rights, regardless of sex, color, or nationality, are relics of barbarism, and ought speedily to be changed.

Resolved, That *educated* suffrage, without distinction of color, sex, or condition, must be the basis of all free government.

Resolved, That the political parties of the present day do not represent our highest idea of the duties and mission of politics. A new political organization is by the times imperatively demanded, which shall take the highest moral integrity for its chief corner-stone, and shall give us statesmen who will not fail us in the hour of our need.

A new political party is loudly called for in almost all directions. It will not be long in coming.

Southern Suffrage.—Ex-Gov. Orr, of South Carolina, in his Valedictory Address to the people of the state argued wisely and well in favor of qualified colored suffrage. He says it is idle to expect any relief in regard to universal suffrage from the democratic party. If the Southern governments are declared void, the states will be left in a condition of anarchy. If the Supreme Court declared them unconstitutional, he asks what Constitution will be in force, and what officers reinstated? Rejecting such a man as Gov. Orr and his counsels, and putting the like of F. P. Blair in nomination, reveals plainly enough the spirit and purpose of the democratic party.

Maggie Mitchell will enter the contest for prizes at the Savannah boat race.

COST OF GETTING GOVERNED.—Somebody figures up the following for the benefit of tax-payers, and tax-payers can easily believe the sum is done right.

The United States government is the most expensive in the world. Great Britain, with an army three times as numerous as our own, an immense navy, a royal family to take care of, and with many other expenditures of which we have no counterparts, spends less money for the support of her government than we do. Interest on British debt for 1867, $128,807,270. Interest on United States debt for 1867, $143,781,591.

The United States debt is almost one-half less than that of Great Britain, yet we paid as interest $14,974,321 more than she did. The same year Great Britain's civil service expenses were $41,098,095, and our civil service bill, the same year, was $51,110,027. The total cost of the British government for 1867 was $335,303,418. Total cost of the United States government same year, $346,729,123.

TEMPERANCE AND HYGENIC LECTURE BY GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.—A printed lecture has come to "THE REVOLUTION," delivered by Mr. Train at St. Ann's Water Cure Establishment, Ireland, well worthy the attention of all lovers of good health. It is too lengthy for our columns, although it has height and breadth in full proportion. We hope to make room for liberal extracts next week.

ANTONOUSAUSER KASTANOPOULO is the name of a Cretan heroine who commands 500 men, smokes cigars, is pretty, and fights the Turks face to face with the bravest of the Cretan host. Woman no longer has to face the *knock down* argument that "if she votes, she must fight." She is fighting first, and can now claim the ballot because she fights.

A NEW TRAFFIC.—A newspaper item is abroad telling that a Minnesota woman, Mrs. Myrick, milliner of Ouatonna, lately sold her sixteen years old and beautiful daughter to a Chicago fancy-goods dealer for $2,000, in payment for an old debt. The girl heard of the transaction, and with her lover, a likely young fellow named Odell, eloped, were pursued, arrested and brought back, but the infamous sale which the mother contemplated was stopped.

LETTER FROM LONDON.

LONDON, June, 1868.

Editors of the Revolution:

WHY the Frenchman should say our Free-born Britons insular prejudices prevent his taking a proper modicum of pleasure, and further that the little he does condescend to take he enjoys but sadly, is quite beyond the comprehension of your correspondent, considering that he has just assisted at three great National pastimes within the roll of as many days. The first unbending of our bow was in strict conformity with the practice introduced and consecrated by the jurists of 1835, who, led by Lord Brougham in repealing the 42d and 43d of "Elizabeth of blessed memory," declared poverty to be a crime, denying the right of life to all who could not exist upon their own resources, righteously enforcing the precept, by empowering correctional law, to punish such culpable misdemeanor. So on Monday last, backed with such brave authority, and finding a *Pauper* in the streets, not dressed exactly "a la mode," we took advantage of the occasion, and for "such a worthy cause," we carried God's image through our public thoroughfares, until it was quite worn down and all but finished with our mercies. On Tuesday, this was a joy to be regretted, in that it was a pleasure of the ills we shall never again behold, except when blessed by the sheriff pricking us on the jury panel, this delectable amusement is now reserved for a select audience. As Jack Ketch has finally sported with the grim king in public, the finality made the incident rather solemn, and threw a gloom over our sports, but, *nil desperandum*, we were there in force and hanged a man. On Wednesday (Carnival of Carnivals) we had the Derby to stimulate our refined tastes in criticising horseflesh. After such a programme, finishing up with the Oaks on Friday, but one day's rest intervening for recruiting who will dare aver we take not pleasure happily. In the delights of our first little affair, we found the Beadle of Ratcliffe work-house materially helped our sports, by assuming the roll of caterer for our amusements. In playing his part, his wit conceived a sublime idea, which never can again be lost, but must go down to our posterity for the especial delectation of Bumbledom, and the terror of daring poverty in all times to come. "I will not kill thee," said a certain buttonless hypocrite, to an offending canine specimen, "but I will call thee mad dog." On this hint, our Beadle not only spoke, but acted with decision, when finding naked on Monday morning a poor wretch, who after the usual bath in frouzy wrath, dirty water, and the night on the boards at casual ward, had torn up his ragged clothing, that no longer held their seams, but in lieu thereof, kept hordes of vermin, refusing to further pester his sore flesh with the remnants of a suit and live-stocked warren. He had done the deed in hopes of bettering by the change, believing, in great delusion, worse fate impossible. Maugre his general knowledge of Bumble's, usual appreciation of casuals, he little suspected him of this last refined sensation. He was quickly and forcibly undeceived.

Now the tearing up process is a frequent practice here, and must be checked in our vagabond population, the *vicar and the squire* both say so, and they know what should be done. More than this, this vagabondage is ever teeming on us from the agricultral districts, characterless and destitute. Poor waifs and strays, they endure their wretched habiliaments, until canvass suits of sail-cloth, a visit to the magistrate and consequent twenty-one days in prison on bread and water fare, utterly fail to deter them, trying a change for cleanliness' sake and a short rest from their parasitical tormentors.

There was a saying now almost obsolete and lost in the dim mists of obscurity, together with the personages acting in the drama, still it is recorded somewhere, that somebody said once to somebody else, "I was hungry, and ye fed me; thirsty, and ye gave me drink; naked, and ye clothed me; a stranger, and ye took me in!" which being modestly disclaimed by the hearers, the reply was, "Forasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these (*the poor*), ye did it unto me—ye are worthy of heaven." Although here it is, it scarcely matters, as our poor law guardians discern much wiser than to follow out such wornout precepts, they know it to be a crying evil to have the poor always with us, and therefore peremptorily give orders to put it down, and if possible, sit upon it constantly as they do weekly. *Would to God some one would sit on them.* Parliament has tried, but it is not heavy enough. They are irrepressible.

Now our Ratcliffe Beadle profiting by and bettering this instruction, clothes this hungry, naked biped before alluded to, in the regulation canvass, but having in his earlier days slyly fostered a little artistic taste, just to smooth the roughs of life with, fresh revived also from recently visiting the Royal Academy, he dislikes the dead sameness of the grey sailcloth. It offends his tutored eye, so trying his more than prentice hand, he facetiously designs a small embellishment or two to ornament his protege the Casual, with threefold object in view, enlivening the appearance of the pauper, while punishing his contumacy by compelling him to run the gauntlet of public derision, and so amuse the gaping mob. Oh, we did so enter into the game! It was glorious sport to follow and race the hunted wretch until he was spent out and breathless. What is that about the frog and the boys? "the fun to you is death to me." But no odds, we had nearly done him as he could not have gone much farther, when that ever-meddling, consumed ass, the Marquis Townsend, interfered and spoilt our game, taking the "damned dog" before a magistrate, while to make atrocity worse atrocious, he summoned the Beadle also, who, in fronting the bench, modestly assured "his worship" that the objects on the casual's dress were his own conception, and innocently grinning, mouth open from ear to ear, declared that he thought it very proper a vagrant pauper should turn out, or be turned out in public, with "Rascal Jack" tattooed in large red characters upon his dress in front, kept properly in countenance by "Scamp" on one leg with "Skulk" upon the other, and as a "chef de cuvre" with a delicate irony, and a malice decidedly unintentional, to put upon his back the true and quaint device, "Idle Jack from the country." The magistrate, Paget, reproved the Beadle for his levity, regretting he could not punish him as the law noted not such an offence. Consistently only should it. Our rule is to put down crime, and what so criminal as poverty? So our Beadle, now famous for ever, passed from the court innocently smiling in self approving consciousness that he had done his duty to his "parish," saving the taxes to the credit of parochial supervision and economy.

Now Tuesday's fun was a trifle clouded. The authorities evinced a shade of fear in their military preparations, and kept their matters mighty close and secret, after respiting Barrett twice, we had dropt all hope of seeing his neck wrung, but our tories were not so base as to be guilty of holding the promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope. Although a little spiced with cowardice they nevertheless did their duty, but we had to watch them close, and none but those who kept their optics intensely strained could learn the law's intention in the matter. Those who did so were well rewarded for their efforts, as they were treated to seeing and hearing the dying speech, protest and confession of the failure of the public gallows in England. A confession making one fact clearly and painfully apparent, in the gathered scum underneath its beam, that this educator of our morals in its healthiest days had never reached the power of being deterent to the careering storm of vice and crime ever sweeping through our civilized and Christian land, although for ages, serpent-like, it has fascinated evil doers, drawing them within its dire embrace to death, it fails in curing. Effectually to stem this torrent of wrong in its impetuous course requires at our hands gentler yet stronger measures than mere repressive law alone to turn it in more healthy streams.

Let philosophers and philanthropists preach an end to, and cease depression, and possibly in time we may come to need not repression, as the people would rise to virtue for its ease and rest. On this occasion let us hope it may repress our Fenians, though I fear if nought else be offered Ireland but the death of her sons, who, however wrongly bent, are still her martyrs, tha this alone will be all too bare and barren of hopeful fruit. A truce to moralizing. Let us record that the votaries of Epsom's games contributed to swell the occasion, giving us great help in this our primal pastime and festive scene. We had with us a large sprinkling of the itinerant wretches, and the peregrinating roughs, fresh from gambling heath and race-course turf. Then there was that special preyer on the country flat, who, save for cowardice and those vile jails, would himself have been a burglar—the thimble-rigger, lees and dregs, who assembled in and on the enclosures and barricades below, while the supernatant liquor of betting swells and titled blacklegs adorned the guinea window-seats above, all alike enjoying the rare treat as a superadded foretaste of the morrow's joys in watching goaded horseflesh.

It is not the intention to record with living graphicness the million-told tale, from the judge's mockery of praying mercy on the culprit's soul to the condemned sermon, when he is preached at to the death drop, the sickly-looking parson with his stereotyped lips repeating "Hell and damnation" in strange commingle with "soul, grace and mercy"—the sicklier mummery of the sheriff's shaking hands with and professing regards for the doomed—the beastly executioner and his beastlier work—the preceding silence—the heavy thud—the laugh—the criticisms of connoisseurs in hanging—and all is over.

Enough! There is nothing awful in it. 'Tis full of frightful horrors. The class that need it not are terror-stricken and mortified. They stand aghast at poor humanity's grossness. The dangerous one to whom it should be a spectacle of reproof, gibe atrocious jests at the dangling corse.

I shall not describe the Derby. I shall confine myself to a point or two, as for instance, there was but three who met with their death, and there are but about twenty wounded in the hospitals, while there were but about a hundred or so that were foolish enough to be caught at pocket-picking, and have rightly got three months each for their stupidity; while the Marquis of Hastings, who owes £100,000 on the turf and won't pay, managed to make the public believe his horse was first favorite, whilst secretly he betted against it, coolly netting £60,000. But then that is not robbery; and if it was, he is a nobleman, or otherwise, like some vulgar "welcher," we should lynch him in a horse-pond. Meanwhile, the lord at Castle Darrington will attend the Lords, and vote, as in duty bound, against the Irish Church Repeal bill. He is safe for heaven, as he holds nine livings himself, and so has the prayers of that number of persons. Of necessity that must cover the robbery of the people at a thousand Derby's in pleasure-taking, moral England.

MRS. LIVESEY, wife of Rev. William Livesey, supplied the pulpit of the Methodist church of Middletown, Mass., in the absence of her husband, on Sunday, week before last.

Financial Department.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.—*America versus Europe—Gold, like our Cotton, FOR SALE. Greenbacks for Money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for AMERICAN Steamships and Shipping. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor, and keep bright the chain of friendship between them and their Father Land.*

THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. II.—NO. 3.

LA GREVE DU MILLIARD.

BY M. VICTOR BONNET.

Translated from the Revue Des Deux Mondes of May for "THE REVOLUTION."

(Concluded from last week.)

States which adopt a paper currency are always led thereto by the mistakes of their governments. Nations generally buy abroad only what they can purchase by the ordinary exchange of their products; otherwise they are not slow to perceive that they run to their ruin. They would be obliged to settle the difference in precious metals; and if they do not themselves produce these, they are forced to entrench upon their specie reserve, which is always prejudicial. It has been said that, after all, the precious metals are like any other merchandize, that one can but gain by exchanging them with other products; hence a superficial theory. When we investigate deeply we soon find that money is a merchandize of peculiar quality; that a certain quantity of it must be in possession—a quantity necessary to the *working of business*—and that when this indispensable reserve is encroached upon, it is not alone the several millions of money which is missing, it is the *base* on which all the commercial edifice rests which is shaken. It happens sometimes, indeed, that nations, trammelled by an exaggerated commercial movement, find they have not sufficient means. that they have appealed or resorted too freely to credit. Such are the epochs of a crisis; but they do not delay to correct themselves their own excesses, and they should never resort to "paper currency" in order to abate their expenditure beyond the measure of their power. If they reach this point, it is because their governments, spending much beyond their resources, commence by borrowing. to cover up deficits—borrow at home and abroad; and when credit becomes difficult to obtain, and it is still necessary to them in view of urgent wants, to procure extraordinary resources, have reconrse at last to a paper currency; then they take the money of the banks, render themselves responsible for the fiduciary circulation of these institutions, and end by issuing paper directly for themselves. This is the history of the United States during the war of secession; it is that of Russia since the Crimean war, and even before; it is that of Austria since the agitations of 1848 and 1849; it is that of Italy, in fact, since 1866. As to Turkey, she is in a normal situation, which has for permanent cause the ruinous financial system of that country.

Paper currency, once established, it is not easy to return. It is an evil which draws in its immediate train another much greater In consequence of a paper currency all commercial relations are compromised. Less is produced and exchanged, for the simple reason that there is no medium of exchange of a nearly fixed value which can be counted on. Nothing is subject to more variation than paper money, even while it is limited and has its guaranties, for the reason that, having no value of its own, it is dependent on the opinion that each one has of its guaranties—*I* sell to-day at a depreciation of ten per cent. of this money, and I establish *my* price in consequence; if I grant delay in payment, it may be that when it shall expire the depreciation may be fifteen or twenty per cent.; then I receive five or ten per cent. less than I expected to receive. On the other hand, if I am buyer, and the inverse effect is produced—that is to say, paper money returns to par—I pay ten per cent. more than I wished to pay. We can see that in this situation commercial relations may be very difficult and much limited. The manufacturer or the foreign merchant could, indeed, by vigorous strictness escape from the influence of the variations of paper money in his relations with countries where this forced currency exists. He has only to stipulate for his sales as for his purchases, that all business transactions shall be settled in metal money, with a fixed exchange; but this plan is not easy to practice, and besides, would not obviate the difficulty. The buyer or the seller, in countries where paper currency exists, not being able to escape the variations of exchange, will inquire always, before entering upon any operation at home or abroad, as to the risks that he may run during the continuance of his operation, and if these risks are too great he will abstain. It is thus by the existence of a paper currency that foreign commerce as well as internal commerce is paralyzed, notwithstanding, industrial and commercial activity can alone furnish to embarrassed governments the necessary resources to make good their paper money and retire it from circulation. They turn in a confusing circle. In proportion as the situation is prolonged, the abyss deepens, and the difficulties of exit increase. Thus we see governments in a state of permanent bankruptcy and ever in quest of new loans to settle the interest of the old ones. It is yet to be seen that the day will come when credit shall fail them entirely, and that time is not far distant, for already there is more hesitation in lending to them, and they borrow at rates of interest more and more usurious. At that time they will be obliged to do resolutely that with which they should have commenced, if they had any idea of the difficulties of the future—that is to say, to have recourse to taxation. This method is, doubtless, painful, it is heroic, it calls more than any other method can the attention of the country to its own affairs; but what is the evil if we only desire useful means? The plan of loans and paper currency is the plan of bad governments, of those which have something to conceal, and whose policy is not inspired by the true interests of the nation. Let any one interrogate the country "par excellence" of *liberty*—that country where all things are done in the light of day, where nothing is undertaken before the nation has been consulted in every form—England. In that country, when a measure of general interest is decreed, when it is necessary to make war in order to save the national honor or influence, they do not hesitate to impose extraordinary taxes for the necessary sums. Thus the finances are admirably regulated; they know no deficit; there is every year an excess of receipts which is applied to reduce taxes, or to diminish the public debt. Needy states believe they have saved all if they have only succeeded in contracting a debt abroad. They do not reflect that it is a means of embarrassing themselves the more, and is the worst of all the means to which they could have recourse. They must pay the arrearages of these debts; and the prejudice which will result from them may be compared to the effect of "absenteeism" in Ireland. Capital will be produced in Russia, in Italy, in Austria, and it will be spent in France, in England, in Holland, as that of Ireland is spent in England.

We are not one of those who believe that the debt of a state does not impoverish the country where it is contracted from the moment that it is spent. We leave this theory to the inventors of modern political economy. We make a great difference between the proprietor who receives the rents and the tenant who pays them; but, debt for debt, we should prefer to see the debt in our country at a higher rate of interest than abroad at a less rate. The arrearages, at least, then would not go from among ourselves. It is certain that except in the case of absolute interdiction, foreigners have always a faculty for buying the public funds of these loans. Nevertheless, there is a great difference between the facilities which are afforded in the one and the other case. While the debt is contracted abroad it is stipulated payable in all the principal markets in specie, at a fixed exchange, while if the debt is made at home, the same advantages are not given; the foreigner then remains exposed to the difficulties of negotiation and variations of exchange, and is little disposed to risk his savings. Such are the causes and inconveniences of a paper currency, which has contributed more than anything else to the excessive increase of our specie reserve. Let us pass to a last consideration. It seems absurd to state that our specie reserve accrues even by reason of the development of the fiduciary circulation. Ordinarily the contrary takes place, nevertheless this is the precise fact. In the ratio that specie is seen to be flowing into the Bank, as it has the effect to strengthen the guarantee on which the fiduciary circulation reposes, the public is anxious to take bank bills, money more convenient and more easy of transportation than specie; and so it happens the Bank of France is made a veritable bank of deposit, like those of Amsterdam and of Hamburg, confining itself to exchanging bills for specie. There are people who, in view of this treasury of 1,150,000,000, see there the most magnificent perspectives for developing at some future date our fiduciary circulation. They imagine already that in preserving the ordinary proportions (or relations) we can arrive at two and a half billions of bank bills. This is also an error. Fiduciary circulation is only at 1,250,000,000, because the specie circulation is too

abundant for the actual wants; the country is saturated with it; the surplus diverts itself thence to the Bank of France, but that is altogether a transitory condition. The treasury cannot remain at 1,150,000,000; it must decrease sensibly sooner or later; and when the time shall arrive the circulation must decrease with it, or at least it cannot augment. At the figure where it is it satisfies fully all wants; and if it develops more it would then expose at a given moment to a contraction as much greater, and which would not be without danger. Thus, the political uneasiness overspreading Europe—the high tariffs of the United States, which close to us a great commercial outlet—the forced currency of bank bills in different countries—finally, the development of the fiduciary circulation itself by the substitution of bills for specie—such are the causes, and there are no others, which have brought about this prodigious specie reserve. It remains now to inquire to what extent this billion of which we speak is disposable, and what we may expect of it for the future.

II.

Lately, in an official document, the Minister of Finances said that we "must not consider the money which composes the reserve of the Bank of France as indicating 1,000,000,000 out of employment." He spoke, no doubt, with reason. The treasury ought to correspond to the fiduciary circulation, and as that circulation reaches to-day 1,250,000,000, it is very evident that a much stronger reserve is required than when our circulation was only 700,000,000 or 800,000,000; but he might have added, that if this entire billion is not disposable, a part of it at least is, and that large retrenchment could be made on 1,150,000,000 in specie as guaranty for 1,250,000 of bank notes without any kind of danger, and without increasing too much the rate of discount. And so that which is transpiring in the Bank of France is only a symptom of the situation. Is it supposed that our only disposable capital is that which is accumulating at the Bank of France? Everywhere else it abounds. The "*Credit Foncier*," and other credit institutions, overflow with it at one per cent. The treasury issues orders on short demand credit at two per cent., and the stagnation of capital is felt in other great cities as well as in the capital. In times of abundance the Bank of France is only a thermometer; if its treasure diminishes by 200,000,000 or 300,000,000, this does not indicate that this sum alone is wanting to the country to create equilibrium with its wants. It indicates only that it has not an exact idea of its wants, which surpass in a measure greater or less its disposable resources. In the same way these 600,000,000 or 700,000,000 in excess, which the bank holds to-day, are only a symptom of the state of the country. They prove that the disposable resources surpass the actual wants, in a proportion of which the excessive specie accumulation of the bank is but one symptom. These are the points which we must consider when we would judge wisely of the situation, and give an exact explanation of the billion in the Bank of France. The fact is still graver than it appears to be, precisely because it is only a symptom. What must we understand, then, by the disposability of these resources, and by the rate of discount at two and a half per cent.? Does it mean that they are willing to lend at this price, and that there are no takers? Assuredly no. The 600,000,000 or 700,000,000 too much in the vaults of the bank, the 1,000,000,000 and more which exist elsewhere are *not* disposable at two and a half per cent. If we only sought to find takers for this mass of capital, which is called disposable because it is inactive, they would not be wanting. There are always people in quest of capital to risk in business more or less doubtful. It is precisely such risks that capitalists shun to-day. They have accepted them, alas! too often, and what they desire now is security rather than profit. The evil will never be computed which the deplorable failures, both foreign and French (which have engulfed enormous sums), have caused to the spirit of enterprise. Homage has been rendered to the energy of men who took control of these speculations; they have been congratulated on the impulse which they have given to industrial and commercial activity; on the progress which was its consequences. This was just, if we consider only one side of the question. Capital is never employed, save in very rare cases, in a manner wholly useless. M. Haussman spends to-day hundreds on hundreds of millions to rebuild Paris according to his fancy. It is evident that he will create for us a superb capital with magnificent arteries (or avenues), and very delightful squares (or parks); but there is a reverse to the medal, and this reverse is, that in order to accomplish this transformation he will have destroyed much property, pushed to excess the city laws, created an artificial (working class), and anticipated the revenues of the city for several years. Is the balance between the useful and mischievous side in favor of the useful? We must be permitted to doubt this.

Already we feel the extreme embarrassments of this situation, and it is to be feared that the future will reveal them still more; but what the Prefect of the Seine has done with an unheard-of imprudence is nothing compared to the amounts spent in foolish enterprises at home and abroad. Who can say what results have reacted on France through the speculations of the "Credit Mobilier" and its foreign enterprises, organized almost entirely with French capital? What have the Spanish and Portuguese railroads, the real estate and other speculations brought back to us? The Governor of the Bank of France, in his testimony at the examination of the fiduciary circulation, established on given statistics, that 1,000,000,000 and more had been lost in all these speculations, and he did not then know the extent of the ruin. It is not certainly too much to say that one and a half billion of capital has been thus entirely annihilated. This computation is assuredly startling; it is of a nature to make an impression on the mind, notwithstanding it is nothing by the side of the moral evil which has resulted from it. To-day, business affairs are in a bad and difficult position. Politics have a very great share, as we have shown, in creating this condition of things, and this part is constantly increased by all the rumors which are in circulation; but politics are not alone responsible, and the failure of the grand enterprises which have excited so foolishly the public admiration is in a great measure the cause of the present evil. "A burnt cat dreads cold water" says the proverb. Capitalists, frightened by the losses they have suffered, dare not risk in any direction. They prefer to remain inactive, and this prolonged inactivity is more prejudicial than the losses themselves. In fact, in a country which, like our own, in a normal season can make one and a half billion of savings in a year, the loss of a year of savings is not irreparable, if nothing is compromised beyond that; but if to this one and a half billion we must add the shaking of public confidence for a longer or shorter time, then indeed the evil assumes incalculable proportions. We do not know what will be the responsibility of the men who have directed these enterprises which have ended so deplorably, when face to face with their actions. The opprobrium which they have drawn on themselves before the country is heavy, and one may say outside of all moral considerations, and only in the view of material interests, that they have done more injury to business by the distrust they have caused then they even benefitted it by any momentary stimulus they were able to impart. An English periodical stated recently, that on the other side of the *strait*, the abundance of disposable capital, and discount at two per cent., coincided with the fall in a great number of public stocks. It is the same with us. If one glances over the list of values on the Bourse, one sees that many of them are lower then they have been when money was scarcer and dearer. Let us take the "rentes" for example. Can we say that there it is not a manifest contradiction, to find on one side a billion of treasure in the Bank of France, and on the other side the "stocks" quoted at sixty-nine (paying nearly four per cent.), that which has been at eighty-four, even under the empire, and on the eve of the Italian war, was at seventy-five. The bonds of railroads guaranteed by the state, and by the resources of companies having a good or considerable premium or promised reimbursement, are found paying near five per cent. Other stocks perfectly secured, pays five and a half to six per cent., and those which are doubtful are not wanted at any price. These are significant symptoms of the distrust of capitalists. One would say that capital is plethoric or burdensome, it is true, but it is a plethora of a peculiar nature. It does not seek, as in other instances, larger remuneration, on the contrary, great profits are what capitalists this time shun. *Capital seeks only one thing—security*, and until it has it, or believes it has it, it prefers to remain absolutely inactive, and contents itself with a less interest than two per cent. for a short engagement. While thus waiting, savings are not produced, and we are like a capitalist who lives on his capital. The Minister of Finance, in the document of which we spoke above, said that we may recognize by other indications (than those of the treasury of the Bank) that the disposable savings were considerable. We do not know where he finds these indications, for foreign commerce remains inactive, and the indirect revenues for the first six months of 1868, did not produce even what they produced during the last year, which was itself an unfavorable year! we might add more. We know, on good authority, that the payments into the savings banks, which during the year 1867 were still increasing, have since the commencement of this year decreased! The withdrawals of money have been greater than the deposits. It is a grave symptom which ought to attract the serious attention of the government. We can remain indifferent in a certain measure to the losses which have been suffered by speculators at the Bourse, and to the billion and a half which has been engulfed in financial disasters;—these evils, great as they may be, do not penetrate to all classes of society, and the masses of the nation (for which let us be thankful) are still strangers to them; but (the inactivity of the arms or manual inactivity) the prolonged inertia, in spite of the high

price of alimentary commodities, is a calamity which attacks the life of the people at its source. The government is certainly full of solicitude for the working classes, it occupies itself with the amelioration of their condition, it comprehends that a country where the working classes suffer, or where they have not the well-being which ought to result in public wealth,—is a country which lacks equilibrium in its social existence—and yet, notwithstanding, by a singular contradiction, it exposes itself to all which can endanger its well being. It makes armaments which produce uneasiness, arrest work, and weaken the finances. It forgets that the *greatest strength of a country is that which resides in the contentment of all classes*, in the sentiment which attaches them to the institutions which govern them. If, under a pretext of protecting them from dangers, more or less imaginary, it commences by ruining them, it exposes itself to the gravest errors. Said one to Doctor Quesney, in the Anti-Chamber of the court of Louis XV., "With halberds, one has power against all opposition." "Yes," he replied, "but *who carries the halberds?*" It is important, that he who carries the halberd be content with his position; he must not have any legitimate cause of complaint, then he stands fast resolutely and with a determination that defies all attacks. It will be said, perhaps, that it is not in the power of our government to calm all uneasiness, that it is not we who have put the questions, more or less irritating, which hold all Europe in suspense; and that it is not in the power of our government to escape them, that it can only show its good-will in favor of peace, but must be prepared for all eventualities. It is unhappily true, and it is the sad consequence of what has been done in the past. However, it must be admitted, that the agitation of Europe to-day is founded on the idea that France is not content, that she does not adhere to the changes of 1866, to the aggrandizement of Prussia, and that she is preparing for retaliation. Furthermore, covetousness is everywhere excited. Russia says to herself, that she could profit by a new conflict, by at last putting into execution her secular policy,—Prussia, that this would be an occasion for her to reanimate German patriotism, and found United Germany; the Poles revert to their lost nationality, and Austria dreams of the return of her power in Germany. All this is aroused by the idea which is attributed to France of undoing what was done in 1866. The word Peace, to find any echo to-day, must be spoken by France, but by France giving to her word the guarantees of political liberty. One thing is certain, that were the nation consulted—although regretting the events of 1866, she would not change them at the cost of war. She attaches too high a value to the maintenance of peace, and besides, she does not feel herself seriously wounded in her dignity nor in her power. If this voice of the nation could manifest itself freely, and make itself felt more than it does in the acts of the government, then the question would be changed, and the attitude of Europe would be entirely different. Why does Europe remain distrustful in spite of all protestations? Why has she not been more reassured by the circular of M de Lavalette in 1866, after Sadowa? Why do not the pacific declarations of the chief of state, and those of the ministers, many times repeated, reassure her. Because she feels that there is not a sufficient counter-balance to the inspirations which might at any time sway the government. The future of our affairs is to-day bound up with the future of liberty. There was an epoch after 1852, when these two things pursued an entirely divergent course. Our affairs arranged themselves with the more confidence the farther they were removed from thoughts of liberty. This strange situation lasted until the war with Italy. After that war, after the concussion which it caused in Europe, the people saw at once the dangers of personal power, and then the two diverging ways reapproached each other. They touch now, and it should indeed be so, for political liberty would not be what it is, would have only a metaphysical value, if it were not the *first guaranty of the tranquillity and prosperity of states*. Let Europe but be assured that she sees clearly into the destines of the future, and immediately the Billion of the Bank of France will find employment and will cease to be an embarrassment. In glancing lately over the verbal process of the international money conference, which took place last year—"a propos" of the universal exposition—we read a singular statement offered by the American delegate. It appeared from this statement, that from the commencement of this century to near the end of 1865, 15,465,000,000 francs of gold money had been stamped in the United States, France, and England, of which nearly three quarters, say 11,015,000,000 francs have been stamped since the discovery of the gold mines of California and Australia, that is to say, since 1851. These figures at first seem frightful, and we are led to ask how the world has been able to absorb such a great quantity of precious metals, without trouble in its commercial relations, without sensibly depreciating the money standard or the symbol of its value; however, lest we should reflect on this, we hasten to remember that this surfeit of precious metals is far from being in proportion to the development of business. It is supposed generally, that there was in Europe and America, before the discovery of the mines, about 30,000,000,000 of precious metals—as much gold as silver. These eleven additional billions which we will carry to fourteen or fifteen, if desired—taking into account the coin which may have been stamped elsewhere than in the three countries indicated, production of the mines of Russia, and of the coining of silver (which has been, compared with the rest, of little importance)—these fifteen additional billions have not increased more than about one-third the previous specie circulation. During this time what has been the progress of business? It has more than quadrupled. There have passed to us for foreign commerce at least from two to seven billions, and for the operations of the bank from one-half-billion to eight billions in 1866. It then follows that with an increase of one-third in specie, we have four times the amount of transactions. This explains why at different intervals during twelve or fifteen years, and notwithstanding the abundant yield of the mines, we have seen the metals so scarce and so valuable. In 1863 and 1864, also, the mines had already thrown into the market eight or nine billions, and nevertheless the amounts in the reserves of the Bank of England and the Bank of France, had never before fallen to so low a figure. All sorts of expedients were invented for remedying the deficiency, and it was publicly demanded that they should make a larger draft on credit, by increasing the number of bank-bills. It is not the two or three billions, which have since been added to the circulation, which have so changed the state of affairs—neither is it the perfection of the means of credit. This perfection exists without doubt, but it existed also in the past, and it concided with a scarcity and a value corresponding to that of specie. What has modified the situation,—(we must repeat it)—that capital much in demand then—is *not* so *now*, for reasons that we have shown, and that paper money has taken, in the circulation of some countries, a more prominent place than ever known heretofore. How can this be changed? It is necessary that confidence should be restored, and that business should be animated with energy. When the time shall come that Europe shall no longer expend herself in armaments and preparations for war, when she shall employ her time and money in making useful and productive things, in paying regularly her debts, without being obliged to borrow anew, when that period comes, then the forced paper currency will no longer be necessary as it is to-day, and it will give place somewhat to specie circulation. When we think of the ten or twelve billions of this paper money, with which we are brought into relation in business, we see what a margin is presented for the accumulation of the precious metals. I wish to believe entirely in the perfection of the credit system, in the grandest means of economizing the precious metals, in the establishment in France of the Clearing House of England and the United States, nevertheless, all these means will not hinder a greater absorption of specie, from the single fact of the development of business. The annual increase of the amount of business with us has been on an average, for seventeen years, fifteen per cent., and that of specie, one-half to two per cent. only. Let business continue to develop in the same ratio—let the progress be even less, not more say than eight or ten per cent., while the increase of specie may be still from one and a half to two per cent., and we shall be sheltered from all monetary depreciation, even if making an increased appeal to means of credit. Thus, then, let us be calm. We are not threatened at short notice, either with a depreciation of the precious metals, nor with too great an abundance of capital for which we shall not have use. That which rather threatens modern society, is insufficiency of capital in relation to the wants thereof. The domain of production is immense, unlimited; every year it increases, thanks to the applications of science, and requires more capital; but tranquillity and faith in the future are essential, and this faith, the industrial and commercial world will not possess, until it shall be assured, that in the political world, nothing will be attempted, which shall not conform to the interests and wishes of the people, nothing which can surprise them suddenly. We see people who in presence of this fatality, which seems to lead to war, cry, "Well, let us have it as soon as possible, that it may cut off all the impending difficulties. We shall, perhaps, afterward, have an assured peace." They forget that war never decides anything, and raises questions which it cannot solve. It will suffice for their conviction to recall to them the history of the past, and even more recent experiences. What has been decided by the Crimean war, by that of Italy or of Germany? Difficulties on the contrary were born, and accumulated after each one of them. To-day, it is only political liberty which can solve these questions.

VICTOR BONNET.

Talk among the Brokers in Wall Street.

ANOTHER CHAPTER IN THE LIVES OF THE GREAT WALL STREET TRIO, PROFESSOR REA, CIRCUS CLOWN FISK, AND THE ENGLISH LORD FROM DUBLIN.

THEY CONCOCT A PLAN TO BEAT RAILWAY CORPORATIONS, AND THE PUBLIC GENERALLY, BUT IT DON'T WORK WELL—CIRCUS CLOWN FISK TO DO THE INJUNCTION PART, PROFESSOR REA TO DO THE WAREHOUSE, WATER LOTS, BOGUS MORTGAGE BUSINESS, AND THE HIGH ART SWINDLING GENERALLY, WHILE THE ENGLISH LORD FROM DUBLIN IS TO WRITE THINGS UP AND DOWN IN THE "DAILY SQUIB."

ALL ABOUT PROFESSOR REA, AND BOGUS CHECKS, FORGED, STOLEN AND ALTERED CERTIFICATES, DRESSMAKERS BILLS, GOLD WATCHES, PAWNBROKERS, MONUMENTS, WATERLOTS, SWINDLING WAREHOUSES, TRIPLICATE WAREHOUSE RECEIPTS, AND PATENT AFFIDAVITS.

LORD CORNWALLIS ON THE WRONG SIDE OF ALL QUESTIONS IN WALL STREET—HE GETS SOUERED, AND ABUSES EVERYTHING THAT DON'T RUN HIS WAY OF THINKING.

CIRCUS CLOWN FISK'S ATTEMPT TO STOP THE PROGRESS OF THE GREAT NATIONAL ENTERPRISE, THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD, LIKELY TO PROVE A FIZZLE—A ROD IN PICKLE FOR HIM, WHICH WILL MAKE HIM TURN MORE SOMERSAULTS THAN HE EVER DID IN THE CIRCUS RING.

WHERE? OH! WHERE HAVE LORD CORNWALLIS'S READING INVESTORS GONE? ECHO ANSWERS, WHERE?

LORD CORNWALLIS TO BE SUITABLY REWARDED BY THE BULLS IN THE GOLD ROOM FOR PUTTING UP THE PRICE BY WRITING THE MARKET DOWN IN THE "DAILY SQUIB." "THINGS GO BY CONTRARIES," AND THIS APPLIES TO THE NOBLE LORD'S WRITINGS.

PROFESSOR REA, JACOB THE SHARP-MAN, AND THE FIFTH AVENUE FUR-MAN.

THE SHREWD MAN KEEP ALL OUT OF NORTH-WEST COMMON PREFERRED — THE LOAD RESTING ON THE SHOULDERS OF CHAPLAIN HATCH AND HIS CUSTOMERS—WHERE WILL THEY LAND IF MONEY SHOULD BECOME TIGHT?—THE MONEY LENDERS AND THE PUBLIC HAD BETTER LOOK OUT OR STAND FROM UNDER—THE GREAT JANUARY PANIC OF 1867 COMMENCED ON THE NORTH-WEST SHARES MAY NOT THE NEXT PANIC BREAK OUT IN THE SAME SPOT?

CHAPLAIN HATCH GETTING NERVOUS ABOUT HIS LOAD OF NORTH-WEST STOCK, AND TRIES A NEW METHOD TO GET RID OF SOME—HE GETS OUT A LITHOGRAPHIC CARD OF COMPARATIVE RAILROAD EARNINGS OF THE NORTH-WEST AND OTHER ROADS FOR THE PAST SIX MONTHS, AND DISTRIBUTES THEM AMONG THE BROKERS AND THEIR CUSTOMERS, AND ALSO SENDS THEM ALL OVER THE COUNTRY—HE GIVES POINTS FREELY AND GRATUITUOUSLY, AND SAYS 100 IS NO PRICE FOR THE COMMON STOCK THIS YEAR—IT WILL NOT PROBABLY BE ANY PRICE FOR IT THIS YEAR, OR ANY OTHER YEAR—THE EARNINGS OF THE ROAD COMPARED ONLY WITH THE OTHER ROADS EARNING THE SMALLEST AMOUNT

KEEP GETTING SHORT OF THE STOCK, AND PREPARING FOR A BEAR CAMPAIGN—THE BOYS ON THE STREET HAD BETTER LOOK OUT FOR BREAKERS AHEAD.

BANK OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS HAD BETTER EXAMINE THEIR MISCELLANEOUS COLLATERALS CLOSELY

WOODWARD'S PRAYER MEETING FOR READING OF NO AVAIL—THE LORD'S "INVESTORS" HAVE STOPPED BUYING.

LORD CORNWALLIS'S SETTLEMENT OF THE ERIE FIGHT DID NOT GET SMITH, GOULD, FISK AND SWEET WILLIAM OUT OF THEIR LOAD.—PROFESSOR REA PROPOSES TO WATER THE STOCK FOR THEM ON HIS "BANK CERTIFICATE PLAN."

THE ROTTENNESS OF WALL STREET FULLY EXPOSED, AND MONEY LENDERS ON THE VERGE OF A PRECIPICE.

THE GREAT RISE IN GOLD, AND THE "GREENBACK" THEORIES OF THE TWO POLITICAL PARTIES.

"THE REVOLUTION" AFTER THE EVIL DOERS AND TRICKSTERS OF WALL STREET.

The talk among the brokers is about the gang of swindlers that concocted the fraudulent alteration of Railway certificates, and the question is who are they and their banking and stock age firms in league with them? Everybody wants to know who is

PROFESSOR REA?

Is he a Professor of Divinity or of physic to strengthen the souls of Wall street brokers for their journey to Paradise by lightening them of their loose cash. Is the Professor a chemist, or a New Yorker or a German or "what is it?" Was he ever in the

BONDED WAREHOUSE BUSINESS,

when triplicate warehouse receipts were flying about the market? The question is who was it that

SWINDLED THE PRODUCE EXCHANGE

out of about $100,000 in 1857 or 1858, and then ran away to Europe? Who was it that obtained Bills of Exchange from

BROWN BROTHERS & CO.

on duplicate bills of lading, and after that was smart enough to sell even the seconds of Exchange? Who was it that started the

RUSSELL FILE COMPANY

in 1863 or 1864, which was a concern that pretended to restore old files and make them as good as new. Did

PEMBROKE AND HIGGINS,

the mechanics of the Russell File Company, say that the concern never did $5,000 worth of business, but that

PROFESSOR REA WAS SMART

enough to obtain from the Superintendent affidavits they were earning $36,000 a quarter. By this and similar false statements did he induce shrewd capitalists to buy the stock. Were

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, GEORGE W. HODGES, THOS. W. MUNROE,

and other first class men, victims of the Professor's wiles and the

RUSSELL FILE COMPANY?

The talk is that the factory of the Russell File Company was up town, and as the process of refiling the old files was a dead secret or rather a "dead beat," no one was allowed to enter the building unless they had an

ORDER FROM PROFESSOR REA,

and even then certain parties were not to be admitted unless accompanied by him. The total force of the Great Russell File establishment consisted of five men, but when the stockholders wanted to visit the place, or a committee was appointed to go up town, then a messenger was posted off in advance to engage some fifty or sixty men by the hour, so that when the "innocents" appeared they might be humbugged with the sight of the enormous business transacted there, and accordingly the committee would report a flourishing business at the

BOGUS CONCERN.

The talk is that the Professor found the stock so valuable, and so much in demand with first class buyers, that he kindly accommodated them with about ten thousand shares of the Russell File stock issued in excess of that which the law allowed.
The talk is that the

PROFESSOR'S CHECKS ON THE MECHANIC'S NATIONAL, FOURTH NATIONAL, AND CHATHAM NATIONAL BANKS

are always returned marked, "no funds," and that his wife's dressmaker got one for a thousand dollars and the paying teller of the Mechanic's marked on it

"DEAD BEAT."

The talk is that the Professor has negotiated mortgages on

PROPERTY WHICH HAS NO EXISTENCE,

and was assisted in this by one of the

BROOKLYN CALLICOT WHISKEY RING,

and the Professor is said to boast openly that he pays the interest regularly on one of these fraudulent mortgages. The talk is that the Professor has bought tea and coffee which he sends to

HIS BONDED WAREHOUSE FIRM,

and raises money on

DUPLICATE AND TRIPLICATE WAREHOUSE RECEIPTS,

declaring them to be forgeries, when the victimised money lenders come to him to complain.

PHILIP DATER & CO.

sold him 240 bags of coffee, but fortunately did not deliver them, and

JAY, GUILD & CO., THROUGH GEORGE L. FANNING

had a narrow escape with about 500 chests of tea. The talk is that the Professor is the

GREATEST FINANCIAL GENIUS

of the age, and that he beats the clique leaders hollow in

RAISING THE WIND,

The talk is that

LORD CORNWALLIS'S RECIPE

for making gold cheap, by putting a tax on the sales, is one of the

BIGGEST CONUNDRUMS THAT THE NOBLE LORD

has yet flashed off in the

"DAILY SQUIB,"

and the question is are the

LORD'S FRIENDS LONG OR SHORT

of gold. The talk is that the noble Lord has had a

MUSS ABOUT READING

with the clique who tried to come a little sharp game on him, but "virtue is its own reward," and "blessed is the end of the righteous man" even in Wall street. The talk is that

KEEP IS GETTING OUT OF THE NORTH-WEST COMMON,

and that

CHAPLAIN HATCH

and his friends are getting in and that Chaplain Hatch is beginning to feel nervous about the market and how he will be able to get along with North-West when

MONEY BECOMES TIGHT,

that he has had a card printed of the comparative earnings of North West and other railroads made to suit so that his North West shall look very cheap, but the thing don't work very well as buyers of North-West in the eighties are rather scarce. The talk is that the

CIRCUS CLOWN

don't make much headway with his attempt to

BLACK-MAIL THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY,

that the company is ready to let him subscribe and have their stock as soon as he is ready to pay for it. The talk is that the

READING CLIQUE

is in a bad way, that

SWEET WILLIAM, THE CIRCUS CLOWN, WOODWARD

and the other members of the clique, are each trying to get out on their own hooks, but that they all watch each other so closely it is a difficult matter to do.

THE MONEY MARKET

was quiet and easy throughout the week at 3 to 5 per cent., the bulk of transactions being at 3 to 4 per cent. on call. The weekly bank statement is more favorable. The loans are decreased $1,239,213, while the deposits are increased $3,819,608, and the legal tenders $3,016,003. The specie is increased $1,163, and the amount now held by the New York city banks is $20,399,031.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks compared with the preceding week:

	July 11	July 18	Differences.
Loans,	$284,147,708	$$282,915,490	Dec. $1,232,218
Specie,	19.230,348	20,399,031	Inc. 1,153,683
Circulation,	34,068,202	34,004,111	Dec. 64,091
Deposits,	224,420,141	228,130,759	Inc. 3,810,608
Legal-tenders,	68,531,542	71,547,545	Inc. 3,016,003

THE GOLD MARKET

was strong and advanced throughout the week. The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Saturday, 11,	141	141¼	140⅞	141⅛
Monday, 13,	141¼	141⅞	141¼	141⅞
Tuesday, 14,	142⅛	142¼	141¾	141⅞
Wednesday, 15,	142	142⅜	141⅞	142⅜
Thursday, 16,	142¼	142⅞	142¼	142
Friday, 17,	142⅞	143⅜	142½	143¼
Saturday 18,	143⅛	144	143¼	143⅝
Monday, 20,	143¾	143⅝	143	143¼

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

was active and firm, in the early part of the week, but at the close the market weakened and declined, owing to the sudden advance in the price of gold. The quotations are, prime bankers sixty days sterling bills 110¼ to 110⅜, and sight 110⅝ to 110¾. Francs on Paris bankers long 5.12½ to 5.11⅞, and short 5.10⅝ to 5.10. On Saturday some German prime bankers were selling freely at 110 for sixty days, and 110¾ for sight sterling, drawn against shipments of bonds and produce.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was unsettled, and prices were irregular, with frequent fluctuations, though at the close of the week there was an improved tone in the leading stocks, especially in New York Central, Toledo and Wabash, and North West Common.

Musgrave & Co., 19 Broad street, report the following quotations:

Canton, 46¾ to 48½; Boston W. P., 16½ to 18; Cum. Coal 33 to 34½; Quicksilver, 23¾ to 24; Mariposa, 4 to 6; do preferred, 9 to 9¾; Pacific Mail, 101¼ to 101½; Atlantic Mail, 24 to 29½; W. U. Tel., 35¾ to 35½; New York Central, 134¼ to 134¾; Erie, 68½ to 68¾; do. preferred, 74 to 75; Hudson River, 138 to 139; Reading, 95¼ to 95½; Wabash, 51¾ to 52; Mil. & St. P., 69 to 69¼; do. preferred, 82¼ to 82½; Fort Wayne 110 to 110⅛; Ohio & Miss., 29¼ to 29⅜; Mich. Cen., 116¼ to 118⅛; Mich. South, 91⅞ to 92; Ill. Central, 151⅛ to 152; Pittsburg, 87¾ to 88; Toledo, 102¾ to 102⅝; Rock Island, 107¾ to 107⅝; North Western, 82 to 82½; do. preferred, 82⅞ to 83.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were more active, with a good demand for the foreign bonds. The general indications are, that in the ensuing week the business both for foreign and domestic bonds will be increased, with a general advance in prices throughout the entire list. There is an actual borrowing demand for the 1862's and the old 1865's.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

Reg. 1881, 113¾ to 114; Coupon, 1881 114 to 114⅛; Reg. 5-20, 1862, 109¾ to 110; Coupon, 5-20, 1862, 114 to 114¼; Coupon, 5-20, 1864, 111to 111⅛; Coupon, 5-20, 1865, 112⅛ to 112¾; Coupon, 5-20, 1865 Jan. and July, 109 to 109⅛; Coupon, 5-20, 1867, 109⅛ to 109⅛; Reg. 10-40, 107⅛ to 107⅜; Coupon, 10-40, 108⅛ to 108¼; July, 7-30, 108¾ to 109; August Compounds, 1865, 118⅛; September Compounds, 1865, 118; October Compounds, 1865, 117⅛.

THE CUSTOMS DUTIES

for the week were $1,434,759 in gold against $1,785,586, $1,645,097 and $1,605,958 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week $4,680,442 in gold against $4,463,244, $3,550,662, and $5,263,899 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were $2,317,411 in currency against $2,452,698 $3.113,579 and £2,660,477 for the preceding weeks. The exports, of specie, were $2,094,138 against $3.947,891 $2,277,532 and $2,530,134 for the preceding weeks.

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